



## Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact [support@jstor.org](mailto:support@jstor.org).

IV. — *English Words which hav Gained or Lost an Initial Consonant by Attraction.*

THIRD PAPER.

By CHARLES P. G. SCOTT.

ATTRACTION, we ar told, is that quality in a body whereby it tends to draw all other bodies to itself. That which is true of attraction in the physical world appears to be true of Attraction in the world of English words; for the subject, which I hav set forth at some length, tho for each section with great brevity, in two papers publisht in the TRANSACTIONS for 1892 (vol. xxiii. p. 179–305), and for 1893 (vol. xxiv. p. 89–155) is not yet exhausted. This is cald my third, and any one who chooses may call it my concluding paper thereon; tho it is really only the third part of a single paper, and for the conclusion, why should one conclude his paper before he concludes the subject? At the end of this part, however, if I do not conclude, I wil pause; but first let me go on.

I hav treated so far of six sections, including 29 classes of words, the number of main words in a class ranging from 1 to 161, with a large number in some classes treated excursivly. I resume with section VII.

§ VII. Initial CH gained.

The next class of words showing the effect of Attraction contains two pronouns ending in *-ch*, namely, *ich*, a Middle English and modern dialectal form of *I*, and *everich*, a Middle English and modern dialectal form of *every*.

XXX. **Ich** (itsh), a dialectal and ME. form of *I*: AS. *ic*, Goth. *ik*, etc. In ME. *ich* was often joind with the following

verb as if one word; namely, *ich am* as *icham*, *ich have* as *ichave*, *ich hadde* as *ichadde*, *ich will* as *ichill*, *ich wot* as *ichot*, etc. Then *icham*, *ichave*, *ichadde*, *ichill*, etc., wer often written *i cham*, *i chave*, *i chad*, *i chill*, etc., and these forms in turn became reduced to *cham*, *chave*, *chad*, *chill*, etc., subject to alternation with *i cham*, etc., and even *ich cham*, etc., with the *ch* reduplicated. These reduced forms stil exist in some dialects.

1. **Ich am** (a) becomes (b) *icham*, (c<sup>1</sup>) *i cham*, (c<sup>2</sup>) *ich cham*, (d) *cham*.

- (a) Freo wummon *ich am* ant tah godes þeowe.  
c 1200 *St. Marherete* (E.E.T.S.), p. 4.  
Fan *ich aam* in this miseree.  
1867 Casteale Cudde's Lamentation, in *Gloss. Forth and Bargy*, p. 104.
- (b) *Icham*. c 1350 *Will. of Palerne* (E.E.T.S.), l. 594, 1733, 3951.  
*Icham* sori for my sunnes.  
c 1362 [LANGLAND], *Piers Plowman* (A), v. 226.  
Ac, certes, *icham* a pouer man.  
c 1440 *Amis and Amiloun*, l. 755. (Weber, *Met. Rom.* ii. 400.)
- (c<sup>1</sup>) Beleue hym not, sur, bide at home,  
For sure *I cham* twull raine.  
1577 KENDALL, *Flowers of Epigrammes* (1874), p. 264.
- (c<sup>2</sup>) *Iche cham* a Cornyshe man al che can brew.  
1547 BORDE, *Introd. to Knowledge* (in *Spec. Cornish Prov. Dialect*, 1846), p. 84.
- (d) By gys, master, *cham* not sick, but yet chave a disease.  
1575 STILL, *Gammer Gurton*. (Wr. p. 511.)  
Pro (s) substituunt (z), ut (ziq) pro (siq) cano; et (itsh) pro (ei) ego: (tsham) pro (ai am) sum: (tshil) pro (ai wil) volo: (tshi voor ji) pro (ai war'ant Jou) certum do.  
1621 GILL, *Logonomia Anglica* (quoted by Ellis, *E.E.P.*, p. 315, with paleotype substitutions).  
Vor *cham* assured he'll but bring her to the spoil.  
1605 *London Prodigal*, iv. 1. (Suppl. *Shak. Plays*, 1780, ii. 507.)  
But step [read *stap* = stop]! *Cham* avore ma Story.  
1746 *Exmoor Courtship* (E.D.S. 1879), p. 80.  
[*Cham*, *Chave*, *chad*, *chell*, *chud*, etc., abound in the Exmoor specimens.]  
*Chant* [ich am not] zo bad's thee.  
1746 *Exmoor Scolding* (E.D.S. 1879), p. 50.  
*Cham* afear'd ich mosth cross a Shanaan.  
1867 *Gloss. of Forth and Bargy*, p. 104.

2. **Ich habbe** or *ich have* (a) becomes (b) *ichabbe* or *ichave*, (c<sup>1</sup>) *i chabbe* or *i chave*, (c<sup>2</sup>) *ich chabbe* or *ich chave*, (d) *chabbe* or *chave* or *cha*.

- (a) *Ich habbe*. c 1200 *St. Marherete* (E.E.T.S.), p. 4.  
*Ich abbe* [later text *habbe*] i min castlen seoue þusend kempen.  
c 1200 LAYAMON, *Brut*, I. 20.  
*Ich have*. c 1300 *Harrowing of Hell*, p. 21. (H. p. 672.)



- Of thine harm, be seyn Jon, *Ichil* the warn ful fain.  
*c* 1440 *Amis and Amiloun*, l. 785. (Weber, *Metr. Rom.* ii. 402.)
- (*c*<sup>1</sup>) Never eft y nil no woman se, Into wildernes *I chil* te.  
*c* 1300 *Sir Orpheo*, ed. Laing, 174. (H. p. 854.)  
*I chulle. c* 1306 *Execution of Sir Simon Fraser* (Child, *Ballads*, vi. 278).  
 Bot evene the very trewthe y *chull* zou say  
 Ry3t as y chave in trewe story full oft y-redde.  
*c* 1420 *Chron. Vilodun*, p. 89. (H. p. 549.)
- (*c*<sup>2</sup>) *Ich chulle* send þe nu. *c* 1200 *St. Juliana* (E.E.T.S.), p. 15.  
 A pine *ic chulle* kenne.  
*c* 1258 *Meidan Maregrete*, l. 233. (E.E.T.S. p. 41.)  
 D[r]ynke to me, or els *iche chyl* begyn.  
 1547 BORDE, *Introd. to Knowledge* (quoted in *Spec. Cornish Prov. Dial.*, 1846, p. 84).
- (*d*) *Chil* tell you what chall do: *chil* go spy up and down the town.  
 1605 *London Prodigal*, iv. 1. (Suppl. *Shak. Plays*, 1780, ii. 507.)  
 (Tshil) pro (æi wil). 1621 GILL, *Logonomia Anglica* (quoted by Ellis, *E.E.T.S.*, p. 315, with paleotype substitutions).  
*Chill* not let go, Zir, without vurther 'casion.  
 1623 SHAKESPEARE, *King Lear*, iv. 6. (F<sup>1</sup> p. 304.)  
*Chell* make thy kep hoppee. 1746 *Exmoor Scolding* (E.D.S. 1879), p. 48.  
*Ch'u'll* no part wi' Wathere.  
 1788 *A Yola Song*, in *Gloss. Forth and Bargy* (1867), p. 90.

5. **Ich won't** (*a*), 'I wil not,' becomes (*c*) \**i chwont*, and finally (*d*) *chont*, *chawnt*.

- (*d*) Bet *chawnt* drow et out. 1746 *Exmoor Scolding* (E.D.S. 1879), p. 52.  
 May be chell and may be *chont*.  
 1746 *Exmoor Courtship* (E.D.S. 1879), p. 106.

6. **Ich would** (*wolde*, *wold*, *woud*, *wood*) (*a*) becomes (*c*) *i cholde*, *i chood*, *i chud*, (*d*) *chood*, *chud*.

- (*a*) *Iche wolde* fayne taale ons myd the cup.  
 1547 BORDE, *Introd. to Knowledge* (in *Spec. Cornish Dial.*, 1846, p. 84).  
*Ich woode* be pitcht ee kurkeen, ar zippeen, to a coolaan.  
 1867 *Gloss. Forth and Bargy*, p. 106.
- (*c*) For an heyre y *cholde* fayne haue.  
*c* 1420 *Vita S. Etheldredae Eliensis*, l. 193. (Horstmann, *Altengl. Legenden*, 1881, p. 287.)
- (*d*) As pretty a Dowsabel as an *choold* chance to see in a summer's day.  
 1605 *London Prodigal*, iv. 1. (Suppl. *Shak. Plays*, 1780, ii. 507.)  
*Chud* eat more cheese an chad it. 1668 WILKINS, *Real Character*, p. 4.  
 More 'ch *wou'd* 'c'had it. 1825 JENNINGS, *Dial. of West of Eng.*, p. 188.  
 'Choo'd drieve aam aul awye.  
 1823 in *Gloss. Forth and Bargy* (1867), p. 110.

7. **Ich was** (*a*) becomes (*c*) \**i chwas*, \**i chas*, (*d*) *chas*.

- (*a*) Such a lerrippoop as thick *ych was* ne'er yzarved.  
 1605 *London Prodigal*, iv. 1. (Suppl. *Shak. Plays*, ii. 504.)
- (*c*) 'Chas for *Ich waas*, I was. 1867 *Gloss. Forth and Bargy*, p. 16.

8. *Ich war* or *Ich were* (*a*), a variant of *Ich was*, becomes (*c*) \**ichwar*, (*d*) \**chwar*, *chawr*, *chur*.

(*d*) *Chaw'r* in wey en [with him] to daunce.

1746 *Exmoor Courtship* (E.D.S. 1879), p. 84.

*Chawr* a told that . . .

1746 *Id.*, p. 102.

*Thoa chur* a lamps'd in wone o' ma Yearms.

1746 *Id.*, p. 102.

9. *Ich wot* (*a*), ME. *ich wot*, AS. *ic wāt*, becomes (*b*) *ichot*, (*c*) *i chot*, (*d*) \**chot*, *chote*.

(*c*) The bisshop of Glascou *y chot* he wes ylaht . . .

Yef hee mowen him hente, *i chot* he bith forlore.

c 1306 *Execution of Sir Simon Frazer*. (Child, *Ballads*, vi. 276.)

(*d*) *Chote* well aar aim. 1788 *A Yola Song*, in *Gloss. Forth and Bargy*, p. 84.

For the adhesion of *i* or *ich* to *habbe*, *hadde*, *wille*, *wot*, etc., compare the adhesion of *i* or *y* to the negativ forms of these verbs (*nabbe*, *nadde*, *nille*, *not*, etc.), and to pronouns.

*Ynabbe* [*i ne habbe*] (l. 107) . . . *Ynot* [*i ne wot*] (l. 158, 166) . . .

*Yneleoue* [*i ne leoue*] (l. 169) . . . *ynemai* [*i ne mai*] (l. 168).

c 1300 *Sainte Margarete* (E.E.T.S.), p. 27, etc.

*Yif ichim* [*ich him*] speke er he wende.

c 1440 *Amis and Amiloun*, l. 2002 (Weber, *Metr. Rom.* ii. 452.)

This attracted *ch-*, or the original *ich*, the playwrights of Shakespeare's time, he among them, often represented in the form *che*; but there was never an independent form *che*. There is an expanded form *ichē*, pronounced *utchy* in South Somerset (1825 Jennings, p. 78).

*Che* have an hundred pound more.

1605 *London Prodigal*, v. (Suppl. *Shak. Plays*, 1780, ii. 514.)

Well, *che* vore ye, he is chang'd . . . You shall not want for vorty more, *che* vore thee.

1605 *Id.* v. (ii. 525.)

Keepe out *che* vor'ye, or ice try whither your Costard or my Ballow be the harder.

1623 SHAKESPEARE, *King Lear*, iv. 6. (F<sup>1</sup> p. 304.)

So from *ise*, speld *ice* in the last quotation, a dialectal reduction of *I sall* for *I shall*, the playwrights made a brand-new pronoun, *ise*, *ice*, for *I*. The form is correctly used in the last quotation, and in these two following:

*Davy*. *Ice* live and tye in good quarrel.

1600 *Sir John Oldcastle* i. 1. (Suppl. *Shak. Plays*, 1780, ii. 272.)

I'faith, neam Club, *Ise* wot ne'er what to do, *Ise* be so flouted and shouted at; but by the mess *Ise* cry.

1600 *Id.* v. 8. (ii. 356.)

In the following passage and in many like it, the spurious *ise*, *ice* for *I* appears.

[*Hibernicus*, var. *scaenicus*, loq.:] Be me tro, mester, *Ise* poor Irisman. *Ise* want ludging. *Ise* have no mony, *Ise* starve and cold: good mester, give hur some meat; *Ise* famise and tye.

1600 *Sir John Oldcastle*, v. 3. (Suppl. *Shak. Plays*, 1780, ii. 348.)

There is a saving fatality about dialect writing. Few venture upon that dismal sea without shipwreck. Even Sir Walter sometimes favors his vernacular Scotchmen with language that never crost the Tweed, or never strayed from the strict tether of print.

XXXI. **Everich** (ev'eritsh), now commonly *every*. The ME. *everich one*, now *every one*, was often written as one word, *everichone*, *everichon*, *everilkan*, etc. It came to be separated erroneously, as *every chone*, but *chone* never appears alone. The form *everich*, ME. *everich*, *everych*, *everuch*, *everech*, etc., was formed from *ever*, as a generalizing prefix, + *ech*, *eche*, modern *each*.

(a) And *euerychone* he knew hem wele.

c 1303 MANNING, *Handlyng Synne*, l. 588o.

Lordes, quod she, ye knowen *euerichon* . . .

c 1386 CHAUCER, *Man of Law's Tale*, l. 197.

Except she turne and change her minde,

And eake her conditions *euerichone*.

a 1550 *Wife Lapped in Morel's Skin*, l. 767. (*Early Pop. Poetry*, 1817, ii. 206.)

(b) Avaunt, ye skowtys, I defyte you *euery-chone*.

c 1485 *Herod's Killing of the Children*, l. 311 (*Digby Myst.*, N.S.S. 1882, p. 13).

We schall be schent *euery chone*.

a 1500 *Lytell Thanke* (Ritson, *Anc. Songs*, p. 8o).

*Every chone*. a 1529 SKELTON, p. 192. (*Gent. Mag.* July, 1777, p. 322.)

The form *everich* is not wholly extinct. It exists to-day in the familiar colloquial phrase *every which way*, for *everich way*, in which *-ich* has taken on the plausible but unparsable aspect of the pronoun *which*. I find also the expected mediate form *every ech*.

The brydgroome welcommed them *euery ech one*.

a 1550 *The Wife Lapped in Morel's Skin*, l. 369. (*Early Pop. Poetry*, 1817, ii. 189.)

The fence was badly shattered and the ground ploughed up for several yards round the place where the guns formerly lay, — formerly lay, for now they were scattered *every which way*.

1869 T. B. ALDRICH, *Story of a Bad Boy* (1892), p. 207.

## § VIII. Initial SH lost.

XXXIX. I find one case in which initial *sh* after a final *sh* in composition, has given way.

**Flesh-shambles**, ME. \**flesh-shamels*, *flesshamels*, appears also as *fleshamels*.

(a) The slaughter of bestes & scaldinge of swyne had & doone in the bocherie of Seynt Nycholas *flesshamels*.

1489 *Stat. Henry VII.* (Caxton) (facs. 1869), p. [46].

- (b) Seint Nicholas *Fleshamels*. *c* 1502 *Arnold's Chron.* (1811), p. 77.  
 Nicholas in *Fleshhamels*, diocis London, patrons the Kyng and ⁊ abbot  
 of Westm. *c* 1502 *Arnold's Chron.* (1811), p. 253.

## § IX. Initial TH lost.

XXXIII. Case involving *north*, *south*, etc.

*Th* initial or final does not suffer Attraction except when there is the added force of Absorption or Conformation. In one case these causes combined hav effectually disguised a word which once bore its credentials on its face. I refer to the word *thriding*, 'a third part.'

**Thriding**, also *thriding*, ME. \**thriding* (represented by *treding* in Domesday Book, *triding* in Spelman, ML. *trithinga*, *tridinga*), from Icel. *priðjungr*, also *bridungr*, Norw. *tridjung*, the third part of a thing, the third part of a district (Icel. *þing*) or shire.

In the frequent use of the terms *North Thriding*, *South Thriding*, the final and initial *th* would run together as one, and that one would be associated with the familiar words *North* and *South* rather than with the technical word *thriding*. In like manner, the *th* of *thriding*, sometimes *triding*, would be merged in the final *t* of *east* and *west*. *Thriding* therefore lost its hed, and appeared as *riding*.

Quotations showing the various forms of *North Thriding*, *South Thriding*, etc., ar to be sought chiefly in legal documents, Anglo-Latin and Anglo-French. As there is no dout of the explanation here given, I omit what quotations I hav.

Some thought and think that *riding* is the original form, and that it means a journey or circuit on horseback; as if ridings were judicial circuits, and the judges wer circuit-riders. There wer judges in eyre, and we hav circuit judges. In the following smooth explanation the horse is of an other color:

In Yorkshire, a third part of the county is of vast extent, and shires, hundreds, and wapentakes being formerly set out *per ambulationem*, by processions on foot, this was performed by processions made on horseback; and hence the name of *Ryding*.

1841 HAMPSON, *Medii Ævi Kalendaria*, p. 228.

Professor Skeat quotes this, and ads: "This is not Hampson's own; it was invented by Dr. Kuerden, 'a learned antiquary of the seventeenth century.'" (*N. and Q.*, 8th ser. vi. Sept. 15, 1894, p. 204.)



Another possible case of the loss of initial *th* after a final *th* appears in the following :

Thy fault our law calls death; but the kind Prince,  
Taking thy part, *hath rusht* aside the law.  
1599 SHAKESPEARE, *R. and J.* iii. 3 (Q<sup>2</sup>. repr. 1875, p. 56; F<sup>1</sup> p. 67).

Here *hath thrust* has been suggested; see *Notes and Queries*, June 24, 1893, p. 495.

#### X. Initial L gained.

I find but one case in which initial *l* has been gained on English ground; and the English ground is in Scotland.

XXXIV. *Ogie*. This is a Scottish word, used chiefly in the compound *kill-ogie*, in Shetland *kiln-hogie*, *kiln-huggie*, the fire-place of a kill or kiln, literally 'kill-eye,' 'kiln-eye,' from *kill*, *kiln* (AS. *cyln*) (compare *mill*, *miln*, AS. *myln*) + *ogie*, 'eye' from Icel. *auga*, Sw. *öga*, Dan. *öje* = AS. *edga*, Eng. *eye* (see EYE, TRANSACTIONS, xxiii. 226). Icel. *auga* is also used of the hole in the milstone, the hole of an ax in which the handle is fastend, the hole or eye of a needle, and a pit of water; and it is the second element of *vind-auga*, the source of the Eng. *window*, in which *-ow* is thus = *ogie*. That this is the correct explanation is shown by the synonymous *kill-ee*, which is wholly English, *ee* being a Scotch form of *eye*.

- (a) *Ogie*, s. A vacuity before the fire-place in a kiln, the same as *Logie*, *Killogie*. *Ogie* is often used in the higher parts of Lanarks. without the term *kill* being prefixed.—From Su. G. *oega*. Isl. *auga*, oculus. *Kill-ee* (i.e. *eye*) is synon. with *Killogie*. S. A.  
1866 JAMIESON [not in ed. 1808].

It occurs chiefly in the compound *kill-ogie*, Shetland *kiln-hogie*, *kiln-huggie*. There is a parallel form *kill-ee* (see above).

And she but any requisition  
Came down to the *killogie*,  
Where she thought to have lodg'd all night.

1706 *Watson's Coll.* i. 45 (Jam. 1808).

"Do you perceive a strong smell of smoke, or is it my fancy?" "Fancy?" answered Dinmont, "there's a reek like a *kill-ogie*."

1815 SCOTT, *Guy Mannering*, xviii.

*Kiln-hogie*, s. Shetl. the same with S. *Killogie*. 1866 JAMIESON.

*Kiln-huggie*, the fire-place of a kiln; same as Scotch *killogie*, S.; Belg. *log*, a hole. 1866 EDMONSTON, *Shetland and Orkney Gloss*.

*Killogie*, properly analyzed *kill-ogie*, came to be analyzed *kil-logie*, and so *logie* came to be used alone.

(b) *Killogie*. See *Logie*.

*Logie, Killogie*, s. A vacuity before the fire-place in a kiln, for keeping the person dry, who feeds the fire, or supplies fuel, and for drawing air. Both terms are used, S. 1808 JAMIESON.

Jamieson, with the usual liberality of etymologists of the old school, givs three gesses at the origin :

I have sometimes been inclined to deduce this from Su. G. *loga*, Icl. *log*, flame. But perhaps it is from Belg. *log*, a hole; or merely the same with the preceding word [*loge*, a ME. form of *lodge*], as denoting a *lodge* for him who feeds the fire. 1808 JAMIESON.

Longmuir (1866) selects the second gess, "Belg. *log*, a hole" (p. 333).

Other words in which initial *l* has been gaind, as *lamber*, *lingot*, *lurch*, hav made such gain outside of English (namely in French, from the article *la* or *le*, *l'*), and ar not therefore treated here.

## § XII. Initial W gaind.

The true long u, written *û* or *uu*, in the conventional spelling *oo* or *o*, often becomes labialized, and closes with a *w*, thus, *uw*. The *w* in this position, before a word beginning with a vowel or silent *h*, may spred over to that word.

1. **Home**, dialectal *ome*, *um*. *Go home*, dial. *goo um* (guw ūm), appears as *goo wum* (gu wūm).

Yo *goo wum* and toy oop oogly ['you go home and tie up Ugly' . . . namely, that surly dog, your bad temper].

a 1890 *Dialect work* (ref. wanting).

2. **Whom**, dial. or cockney '*om*. *To whom*, dial. *to 'om* (tuw ūm) may appear as *to wom* (tu wūm).

*Wom*, pron. . . . *Whom*. A late Reverend Precentor of Chester Cathedral, a Cheshire-man born, always so emphasised this word in the closing sentence of the General Thanksgiving,—" *To wom wi Thee*," &c.

1877 LEIGH, *Cheshire Gloss*. p. 338.

*Two-eyed* (tuw-aid) . . . *too wide* (tū waid).

a 1880 *A pun* (author escaped).

This 'gain' of *w* is fleeting, and is of a different nature from the labialization which has produced *wone*, usually written *one* (wōn, wūn) for *one* (ōn), *whole* (hwōl, now hōl) for *hole* (hōl), *wheal* (hwīl) for *weal* (wīl), *whoop* (hwûp, now usually hûp) for *hoop* (hûp), etc., dialectal *wor* or *woor* (wûr) for *our* (aur), dial. *oor* (ûr), etc.

## § XIII. Initial Y gaind.

Cases in which final *y*, as the termination or "vanish" of the vowel *î*, or *i* (speld *i*, or *y*, now more commonly *ee* or *e*), in its usual pronunciation as a half diphthong, *ii*, *iy*, goes over to the next word. Thus, in ME. or dialectal speech *thy Edward* (dhî Edward or dhiy Edward) becomes *thy Yedward* (dhi Yedward), and so *Yedward* in other positions. Compare the development of *myn Ed* into *my Ned* (TRANSACTIONS, xxiii. 298).

Some of the examples of this extraneous initial *y* ar due to association with words having an original *y*, ME. *ȝ*, AS. *g*, which provincially alternate with forms without *y*; as in provincial *gelt*, *ȝelt*, *yilt*, *ilt*, a pig. Compare *yield*, *ield*, *ild* (see TRANSACTIONS, xxiv. 137).

A clear case of this transfer of *y* occurs in *Holyoake*, *Holyoke* originally *Holy oke*, 'holy oak.' Here *hōli ōk*, *hōliy ōk* has become *hōl'yōk*.

In phrases like *the earth*, *the earl*, etc., the "vanish" of the vowel in *the* (dhi, dhiy, before a vowel) would easily lead to *the yearth*, *the yearl*, etc. But as above intimated, other causes may operate to produce the initial *y*. There is a long series of such words having in dialectal use a *y* to which their etymology does not entitle them. I mention *yable*, *yacker* (acre), *yakeron* (acorn), *yak* (oak), *yal* (ale), *yan* (one), *yat* (hot), *yearth*, *yearl*, *yerb*, *yeven*, etc.

"Starch," echoed Ochiltree: "na, na, Mr. Dusterdeevil, ye are mair of a conjurer than a clerk. It's *search*, man, *search*—See there's *the Ye* clear and distinct." 1816 SCOTT, *Antiquary*, xxiv.

Your leddiship maun ask Monkbarns, for he has gotten *the yepistolary* correspondensh. 1816 SCOTT, *Antiquary*, xliii.

Upon which he caught a sight of your *yepissle* and read it as a thing that was just wonderful. 1821 GALT, *Ayrshire Legatees* (1844), p. 279.

## XIV. Initial P or B gaind.

XVII. Cases involving the Welsh patronymic *ap* or *ab*; namely, English surnames of Welsh origin in which the final consonant of *ap* or *ab* has been attracted to the name following.

Before explaining the manner of this change and enumerating the cases with the evidence, it wil be wel to state the etymology and the relations of the word *ap* or *ab*.

The Welsh *ap* or *ab* is an alterd form of *mab*, earlier *map*, Middle Welsh *map*, Old Welsh *map*, in the earliest form *maqvi*, which is properly a genitiv form, cognate with Old Irish *maqvi*, *maqqvī*,

*moqvi*, latter *maccui*, *maccu*, Middle Irish *macc*, *mac*, modern Irish *mac*, Gaelic *mac*, Manx *mac*, Bret. *map*, Old Gaulish *map-* in *Mapi-lus*; all from an original Celtic \**magvus*, \**magvas*, \**mac-was*, cognate with Old Teutonic \**magwus* in Goth. *magus*, boy, servant, Old Saxon *magu*, Anglo-Saxon (in poetry) *magu*, *mago*, son, boy, young man, servant, Icel. *mögr*, son; a word of wide kindred, from which by feminine formativs we hav the words *may*, *maid*, and *maiden*, all meaning 'girl.'

The Welsh *map*, modern *mab*, a boy, son, appears in various English surnames, *Map*, *Mapp*, *Mappe*, *Mape*, *Mapes*, *Mapps*, *Mappes*, *Mabb*, *Mabbe*, *Mabs*, *Mabbs*.

Walter *Map*.

c 1140-c 1210.

Walter *Map* [in Anglo-French]. c 1185 HUE OF ROTELAND, *Ipomedon*.

Walter *Mapes* [a later, Latinized form of the above].

John *Mape*. 1542 *Churchwardens' accounts of the town of Ludlow*  
(Camden Soc. 1869), p. 11.

Mrs. *Mapp* the famous bone-setter.

1736 *Grub Street Journal* Sept. 2.  
(*Hist. of Sign-boards*, 1864, p. 113.)

The corresponding Irish and Gaelic *mac* also appears in various surnames now accounted English, as *Mack*, *Macks*, *Magg*, *Maggs*, and in the unnumberd surnames beginning with *Mac-*, variously written *Mac-*, *Mack-* (before a name beginning with *C-* sometimes *Ma-*) and, in conventional script abbreviations, *Mc-*, *M<sup>c</sup>-*, *M<sup>l</sup>-*, *M<sup>r</sup>-*; as *MacLean*, *Maclean*, *Macklean*, *McLean*, *M<sup>c</sup>Lean*, *M<sup>l</sup>Lean*, *M<sup>r</sup>Lean*.

As the word meaning 'son' the Welsh *map*, *mab* naturally appears in genealogical expressions. In pedigrees it is the regular term. In such use *map* or *mab* came to be reduced to *ap* or *ab*. If the *m* was not wholly lost, it was liable to the usual positional mutation, *map* becoming *fap*, pronounced *vap*; accordingly in ME. records it sometimes appears as *vap* (see under *Rice*, below).

The loss of initial *m* in Welsh is exceptional, and is to be explained in this case by the extremely frequent use of the term as a kind of prefix before the distinctiv name.

Between *ap* and the later *ab* there is now no fixt choice. The report of the Society for Utilising the Welsh Language, under the title "Welsh Orthography" (Carnarvon 1894) expresses a preference for *Dafydd ap Gwilym* in sted of *Dafydd ab Gwilym*, but does not enforce the rule. See London *Academy*, Aug. 18, 1894, p. 115.

The use of *ap* in Welsh names was early recognized in English records.

The names of the gentylmen that were slayne of Walsche party in the same batelle . . . Yvan *ap* Jhon of Merwyke; Davy *ap* Jankyn of Lymmerike; Harry Done *ap* Pikton; John Done of Kydwelle; Ryse *ap* Morgon *ap* Ulston; Jankyn Perot *ap* Scottesburgh.

1473 WARKWORTH, *Chronicle* (Camden Soc. 1839), p. 6.

John *ap* Gwylliam . . . [cald soon after:] John Gwylliam.

1561 *Churchwardens' accounts of the town of Ludlow* (Camden Soc. 1869), p. 107.

John *ap* Morgan Squier, Carver.

1532 DEWES, *Introductorie* (1852), p. 1036.

Jehan *ap* Morgan on le nommoit.

1532 *Id.* p. 1034.

Rees *ap* Thomas.

1549 *Churchwardens' accounts of the town of Ludlow* (Camden Soc. 1869), p. 41.

What a difference between this last homely record and the same words as glorified by the magic touch of the great master :

Rice *ap* Thomas.

1623 SHAKESPEARE, *Richard III*, iv. 5. 12.  
(F<sup>1</sup> p. 200.)

Admirers of the greatest literary genius of all times wil not fail to see in this apparently simple line evidence of the poet's consummate art in suggesting, by three words, his absolute mastery over the rhythical difficulties of a foreign tongue, his profound sympathy with a brave and high-spirited people, and his exquisit grace of allusion shown in the delicate compliment which this seemingly casual mention of a Welsh gentleman conveyd to the sovereign of whose court the poet was the brightest ornament. But this is "literary criticism"; let us resume history.

The patronymic *ap* was repeated at every step in a pedigree. A Welsh-man thus bore for his name a catalog of his ancestors, and "dragd at each remove a lengthening chain."

The church of Llangollen in Wales is said to be dedicated to St. Collen-*ap*-Gwynnawg-*ap*-Clyndawg-*ap*-Cowrda-*ap*-Caradoc-Freichfas-*ap*-Llyn-Merim-*ap*-Einion-Yrth-*ap*-Cunedda-Wledig, a name which casts that of the Dutchman, *Inkvervankodsorspanckinkadrachdern*, into the shade.

1842 LOWER, *Eng. Surnames*, p. 7.

It would tire a Welshman to reckon up how many *Aps* 'tis removed from an Annal. 1647 CLEVELAND, *Char. Lond. Diurn.* (1677), 108. (N.E.D.).

The ludicrous side of this long-linked nomenclature was in time perceivd by the English.

2 *Judge*. What bail? What sureties?

*Davy*. Hur cozen *ap* Rice, *ap* Evan, *ap* Morice, *ap* Morgan, *ap* Lluellyn, *ap* Madoc, *ap* Meredith, *ap* Griffin, *ap* Davy, *ap* Owen, *ap* Skinken [Shinken], *ap* Shones.

2 *Judge*. Two of the most sufficient are enow.

*Sheriff*. An it please your lordship, these are all but one.

1600 *Sir John Oldcastle*, i. 1. (Suppl. *Shak. Plays*, 1780, ii. 272.)

Thomas *ab* Richard *ab* Hywel first took the name of Mostyn on this occasion. Rowland Lee, Bishop of Litchfield and President of the Marches, in the reign of Henry the Eighth, sat on a Welsh cause, and, wearied with the quantity of *Aps* on the jury, directed that the panel should assume their last name, or that of their residence; and that Thomas *ab* Richard *ab* Hywel *ab* Juan Fychan should be reduced in future to the poor disyllable Mostyn.

1778 PENNANT, quoted in Yorke, *Royal Tribes of Wales* (1799), p. 12, note.

The following anecdote was related to me by a native of Wales: "An Englishman, riding one dark night among the mountains, heard a cry of distress, proceeding apparently from a man who had fallen into a ravine near the highway, and, on listening more attentively, heard the words, 'Help, master, help!' in a voice truly Cambrian. 'Help! what, who are you?' enquired the traveller. 'Jenkin-*ap*-Griffith-*ap*-Robin-*ap*-William-*ap*-Rees-*ap*-Evan,' was the response. 'Lazy fellow that ye be,' rejoined the Englishman, setting spurs to his horse, 'to lie rolling in that hole, half a dozen of ye; why in the name of common sense don't ye help one another out?'"

1842 LOWER, *Eng. Surnames*, p. 8.

To burlesque this ridiculous species of nomenclature, some wag described cheese as being

"Adam's own cousin-german by its birth,  
*Ap*-Curds-*ap*-Milk-*ap*-Cow-*ap*-Grass-*ap*-Earth!"

1842 LOWER, *Eng. Surnames*, p. 7.

The term *ap* or *ab* became in time a mere prefix, and has emerged as an integral part of some surnames, namely *Apjohn*, *Apreece*, *Aprichard*. In such use it has also suffered change to *up*: I find *Uphowel*, *Upholl*, *Upjohn*, and *Uprichard*.

The *ap* or *ab* sometimes became reduced in Welsh to *a*, the *b*, affecting the following consonant if *m*, making it *mh*. Thus *Ap Meredydd*, *Ab Meredydd*, became *Amheredydd*, whence in English spelling *Ameredith*.

*Ab* sometimes becomes amalgamated with the following word, when that word begins with *m*; as, *Amheredydd*, *Amheirig*, = *ab Meredydd*, *ab Meirig*.

1866 SPURRELL, *Dict. Welsh Lang.*

John Dee Jrnydw, alias John *ap Meredith*.

1536 in Ellis, *Orig. Letters*, 3rd ser. (1846), iii. 14.

*Ameredith*.

1860 LOWER, *Patronymica Britannica*, p. 7.

The *ap* or *ab* also appears sometimes as *a* in English:

Little Shon *a* Morgan, Shentleman of Wales.

1849 HALLIWELL, *Pop. Rhymes and Nursery Tales*.

The fact that *ap* or *ab* could thus become reduced to *a* was not, however, I think, the cause of the change now to be set forth. Attraction alone is sufficient to explain it. Before names beginning with a vowel or *h*, or with a consonant that could combine with *b* or *p*, the final consonant of *ab* or *ap* was attracted to the following name. The *a* thus left standing alone was probably taken as the English *a* for *at*, or *a* for *of*, in the purely English names *John a Nokes* or *John a Styles* (see TRANSACTIONS, xxiii. 282).

Typical cases ar *Ab Owen*, becoming *Bowen*, *ap Rice* becoming *Price*, *ab Rice* becoming *Brice*.

Each name with *ap* or *ab* may appear in eight forms: (1) the original or normal form *Ap Owen*; (2) the changed form *Ab Owen*; the united forms of these, (3) *\*Apowen* and (4) *Abowen*; the misdivided forms with Attraction, (5) *\*A Powen*, and (6) *A Bowen*; the reduced forms of these, with *a* dropt, (7) *\*Powen* and (8) *Bowen*. In a given instance only two or three forms may appear in the accessible records. I hav found none in all the eight forms.

The instances wil be enumerated in the alphabetic order of the simple original name. To save space, no examples of the simple name, for which proof is always at hand, ar given, unless for special reasons; and examples of the reduced forms, if not redily lighted upon in early records, ar taken from recent directories and other recent books. Of examples later than 1600 any one is as good as any other. To ascertain the earliest dates, and to giv references to original Welsh records, ar beyond my present purpose, even if time permitted the search and space permitted the record.

The examples of the full form of the patronymic name, 1 and 2 above, ar markt *a*, of the united forms (3 and 4) *b*, of the attracted forms retaining the separated *a* (5 and 6) *c*, and of the reduced forms (7 and 8) *d*. Thus, (*a*) *Ap Owen* or *Ab Owen*, (*b*) *\*Apowen* or *Abowen*, (*c*) *\*A Powen* or *A Bowen*, (*d*) *\*Powen* or *Bowen*. At least one quotation for the full form is given, if accessible. If one is lacking, the form is enterd without a date or reference annext, thus leaving a blank for the formal proof when it shal be discovered. If no quotations for the intermediate forms (*b*) and (*c*) ar at hand, no space is left. It is assumed that proof can be found. Improbable cases, and some probable cases for which adequate evidence is not at hand, ar omitted. Of the abbreviated references, "Bardsley" means Bardsley's *English Surnames*, 3d ed. 1875; "Lower, *P. B.*" Lower's *Patronymica Britannica*, 1860.

1. **Abbot**, *Abbott*, *\*Abbet*, *Abbett*, a common surname, from *abbot*, W. *abad*. *Ab Abbot*, *Abbott*, etc., has given rise to *\*Babbot*, *Babbott*, *\*Babbet*, *Babbett*, *Babbitt*, *Babbitt*.

(a) *\*Ab Abbot*.

(d) *Babbott*.

*Babbet*.

*Babbitt*.

*Babbitt*.

1891 *New York Directory*.

1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 424.

1875 *New York Directory*. 1889 *Philadelphia Directory*.

1857 *New York Directory*. 1889 *Philadelphia Directory*.

1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 424.

2. **Adam**, formerly also *Addam*. *Ab Adam*, *Addam*, appears to be the source of the surname *Baddam*, speld also \**Badam*, *Badum*, also, simulating names in AS. *-ham*, *Badham*.

(a) *Ab Adam*. (See next.)

(b) *Abadam*. A recent resumption of the old baronial name of *Ap-* or *Ab-*  
*Adam*. 1860 LOWER, *P. B.*

(d) *Baddam*. 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 193.  
*Badham*. 1861 *Id.* p. 32. 1857 and 1875 *New York Directory*.  
*Badum*. 1889 *Philadelphia Directory*.

With the patronymic genitiv *Adams* goes *Badhams*.

As *ab*, *ap*, and their remnant *B-*, *P-*, ar in origin *Mab*, *Map*, and these the same in origin as *Mac*, *Mac-*, *Mc-*, *Mc-*, *M'-*, *M'-*, *Badham* is etymologically identical with *Macadam*, *McAdam*, and *Badhams* with *Macadams*, *McAdams*.

3. **Eddowes**, a Welsh surname. *Ab Eddowes* has given rise to *Beddowes*, *Beddows*, *Beddoes*. I find *Beddow*, *Beddoe* in present use, and in numerous forms in the 16th century.

(a) \**Ab Eddowes*.

(d) *Beddoes*. 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 316.  
*Beddows*. 1875 *New York Directory*.

4. **Einion**, written also *Eynion*, *Eineon*, *Enion*, *Ennion*, formerly *Eygnenn*, *Eneand*, etc., and as an English surname *Enion*; Welsh *Einion*, a common personal name.

John *Eneand* of Penbrokeschire.

1473 WARKWORTH, *Chron.* (Camden Soc. 1839), p. 7.  
*Eygnenn ap Yevan*.

a 1550? *Calendarium Rotulorum Chartarum*. (Bardsley, p. 525.)  
Maria *Enion*. 1889 *Philadelphia Directory*.

*Ap Einion* has given rise to *Pinion*, *Pinyon*, while *Ab Einion* or *Enion* has become *Benion*, *Benyon*, *Binion*, *Binyon*, *Beynon*, *Bynon*.

(a) Dafydd ap Jeuan *ap Einion*.

1448 in Halliwell, note to Warkworth, *Chron.* (Camden Soc. 1839), p. 34.  
Edwyn *ap Eineon* ap Owen ap Howel Dha.

1786 WARRINGTON, *Hist. of Wales*, p. 208.

(d) *Pinyon*. 1860 LOWER, *P. B.*, p. 248.  
Miss *Pinion* in 1648, as appears by our Colony Records, escaped from the meshes of the law. 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 54.

Whatever her faults, Miss *Pinion* was not wholly without Attraction.

(a) David ab Gronow ab *Eynion* spoliatus fuit 30 s.

a 1500 *Articuli quæstionum*, etc., in Warrington, *Hist. of Wales*, 1786, p. 617.

(d) One John *Benion*.

1569 *Churchwardens' accounts of the town of Ludlow* (Camden Soc. 1869), p. 141.



- John *Benyons* grave. 1569 *Id.*, p. 135.  
*Benyon.* 1860 LOWER, *P. B.* 1889 *Philadelphia Directory*.  
*Binion.* 1891 *New York Directory*.  
*Binyon.* 1894 . . .  
 John *Beynon.* 1646 in *Cymru Fu*, Oct. 13, 1888.  
 David John *Beynon*, Jenkins *Beynon.* 1771 EVANS, *Eng.-Welsh Dict.*, Subscribers' names.  
*Beynon.* . . . ab Einion. 1866 SPURKELL, *Dict. Welsh Lang.*, p. 1.  
*Beynon.* 1893 *Sign* at Grand Crossing, Chicago, July 16.  
*Bynon.* 1881 *Yonkers Directory*.

The name *Enion*, apparently by an early association with *onion*, which was formerly written and is stil often pronounced *inion* (see my first paper, TRANSACTIONS xxiii. 246), appears also as *Onion*.

*Onion.*

1860 LOWER, *P. B.*

The existence of this form gives plausibility to Lower's assertion that the surname *Bunyan* is another form of *Binion*, *Binyon*, etc., from *Ab Enion*. But *Bunyan*, which appears also in the forms *Bunyon*, *Bunion*, *Bonyon*, etc. ("the name is found spelt in no fewer than thirty-four different ways," 1886 *Dict. Nat. Biog.* viii. 275) appears to be of French origin; early forms ar *Buignon*, *Buniun*, *Boynon*; "The family of *Buignon*, *Buniun*, *Bonyon*, or *Binyan* . . . had been settled in the county of Bedford from very early times." (1886 *D. N. B.* l. c.) It is very likely that this name *Bunyon*, *Bunyan*, etc., of French origin, became confused with *Benyon*, *Binyon*, etc., of Welsh origin. The English language is dredfully homonymous, in proper names as wel as in other words. To the popular mind words that look somewhat alike or sound somewhat alike, ar all one. This simplifies learning.

5. **ELLIS**, formerly also *Ellice*. *Ab Ellis* became *Bellis*, *Belis*.

- (a) Mr *Ellice ap Ellice*, gent. 1571 *Churchwardens' accounts of the town of Ludlow* (Camden Soc. 1869), p. 148.  
 Sir John *ab Ellis*, the parson of Kekidog.  
 a 1700 in Yorke, *Royal Tribes of Wales*, 1799, p. 125.  
 (d) When the Welsh adopted the use of surnames, *Ab* hath been, in many instances, confounded with the name it precedes; hence come Bowen, *Belis*, Powel, and several others.  
 1793 OWEN, *Welsh and Eng. Dict.* s. v. *Ab*.  
*Bellis.* 1889 *Philadelphia Directory*; 1891 *New York Directory*.

The following names ar probably of different origin :

- Bellise.* 1821 *Philadelphia Directory*.  
*Bellas.* 1891 *New York Directory*.

*Bellas* probably belongs with *Bellows*, which is ME. *belhus*, 'bell-house.'

6. **Evan**, also *Ivan*, ME. *Yvan*, *Yvon*; in 16th century also *Yevan*, *Jevan*, *Jevon*, *Jevun*; from Welsh *Ievan*, *Iefan*, 'John,' from LL. *Ioannes*, whence E. *John*.

*Yvon* de Galles [OF., tr. 'Evan of Wales'].

1372 *French poem* (*Antiq. Repertory*, 1807, i. 5).

*Yvan* ap Jhon. 1473 WARKWORTH, *Chron.* (Camden Soc. 1839), p. 7.

*Ivan* the carpender and his man.

1563 *Churchwardens' accounts of the town of Ludlow*  
(Camden Soc. 1869), p. 114.

*Yevan* the carpenter. 1564 *Churchwardens' accounts of the town of*  
*Ludlow* (Camden Soc. 1869), p. 118.

David *Evan* Henllan am Goed.

1771 EVANS, *Eng.-Welsh Dict.*, Subscribers' names.

*Ap Evan*, *ab Evan* appears as *Bevan*, *Beavan*, *Bevin*.

(a) *Howel ap Evan*. a 1550? *Writs of Parliament*. (Bardsley, p. 525.)

*Eygnenn ap Yevan*. a 1550? *Calendarium Rotulorum Chartarum*.  
(Bardsley, p. 525.)

*Hughe ap Jevun*. 1571 *Churchwardens' accounts of the town of*  
*Ludlow* (Camden Soc. 1869), p. 146.

*Hughe ap Jevan*. 1573 *Id.*, p. 155.

"What news from Garde Doloureuse, Jorworth *ap Jevan*?" "I bear them  
in my bosom," said the son of *Jevan*. 1825 SCOTT, *The Betrothed*, ii.

(d) *Thomas Beavan*, smith. 1598 *Churchwardens' accounts of the town of*  
*Ludlow* (Camden Soc. 1869), p. 169.

*Bevan*. 1821 *Philadelphia Directory*; 1857 *New York Directory*.

*Bevin*. 1891 *New York Directory*.

The Gaelic forms of *Evan* are *Eoin* and *Eoghann*, whence the now English surnames *Ewan*, *Ewen*; and *Bevan* is thus originally identical with *McEwan*, *McEwen*, *M'Euen*.

The patronymic genitive of *Evan* is *Evans*, also *Ivans*, *Ivens*, *Ivins*, in 16th century also *Evance*, *Yevans*, *Jevance*, whence modern *Jevons*. As *Ab Evan* produced *Bevan*, so with *Evans* go *Bevans*, *Bevins*, *Bivens*, *Bivins*.

(d) *Bevans*. 1821 *Philadelphia Directory*; 1857 *New York Directory*.

*Bevins*. 1891 *New York Directory*.

*Bivens*. 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 478.

*Bivins*. 1861 *Id.* p. 425. 1857 *New York Directory*.

7. **Harry**, formerly also *Harrie*, and *Herry*, *Herrie*; an assimilated form of *Henry* (see below). This name has undergone many transformations.

(1) *Ap Harry* has become *Parry*.

(a) *Morres ap Harry*. 1520 *Rulland Papers* (Camden Soc. 1842), p. 57.

*Thomas ap-Harry*. a 1600 *Cal. Rotulorum Chartarum*. (B. p. 582.)

*Hugh ap-Harrye*. a 1603 *Cal. Proc. in Chancery* (Eliz.). (B. p. 582.)

(b) *Morres Apparry*. 1520 *Rulland Papers* (Camden Soc. 1842), p. 47.

*Aparry*. a 1563 FOXE, *Acts and Mon.* (Oliphant, *N. E.* i. 540.)

*Watkin ap-Parry*. a 1603 *Cal. Proc. in Chancery* (Eliz.). (B. p. 582.)

- (c) Sir Davy Owen . . . Sir William *a Parre*.  
1520 *Rutland Papers* (Camden Soc. 1842), p. 31.  
Mrs Blaunche *a Parre*.  
1578 *Will of Lady Mary Grey*, in *N. and Q.*, Oct. 20, 1894, p. 302.
- (d) Sir W. *Parre*. 1520 *Rutland Papers* (Camden Soc. 1842), p. 45.  
Dame Elizabeth *Parree* . . . Dame Elizabeth *Parre*.  
1483 *Wardrobe Account of Richard III.*, in *Antiq. Repertory* 1807, i. 56-59.  
F. *Parry*, Llanabar. 1771 EVANS, *Eng.-Welsh Dict.*, Subscribers' names.  
*Parri* . . . ab Harri. 1866 SPURRELL, *Dict. Welsh Lang.* p. 1.

(2) *Ap Herry* becomes *Perry*.

- (a) \**Ap Harry*. (See *Ap Harry* above.)  
(c) *Perry*. 1821 *Philadelphia Directory*.

(3) *Ab Harry* becomes *Barry, Barrie*.

- (a) Parri . . . *ab Harri*. 1866 SPURRELL, *Dict. Welsh Lang.* p. 1.  
(d) Barry. 1821 *Philadelphia Directory*.  
Barrie. 1857 *New York Directory*.

(4) *Ab Herry* becomes *Berry, Berrie*.

- (c) *Richarde Berys* pewe. 1547 *Churchwardens' accounts of the town of Ludlow* (Camden Soc. 1869), p. 32.  
*Berry*. 1821 *Philadelphia Directory*.

*Berry, Berrie* ar in part of local origin, from *bury*, a city, *Bury*, a particular city so cald.

8. **Henry.** This is the original form of both *Harry* and *Herry*, above mentiond. *Ap Henry* has become *Penry*, which is thus identical in its origin with *Parry* and *Perry*, *Barry* and *Berry*, and, because *Ap* was once *Mac*, all these ar identical with *MacHenry*, *McHenry*, *M'Henry*.

- (a) *(d)* John *Penry*, or *Ap Henry*, that is, the son of Henry, better known by the name of Martin Marprelate, or Marpriest.  
1691 *Athenæ Oxon.* (1813), i. 591. (B. p. 51.)  
*Penry.* 1821 *Philadelphia Directory.*

9. **Hopkin.** This stands for *Hobkin*, 'little Hob.' The origin of *Hob* I have shown before (TRANSACTIONS, xxiv. 116). *Ap Hopkin* produced *Popkin*.

- (a) \**Ap Hopkin.* a 1603? (See following.)  
Tudur *ab Hob y dili.* 1799 YORKE, *Royal Tribes of Wales*, p. 99, note.  
(d) Hopkyn *ap Popkin.* a 1603 *Cal. Proc. in Chancery* (Eliz.). (B. p. 586.)  
John *Popkin.* John *Popkin*, jun. Treheirn.  
1771 EVANS, *Eng.-Welsh Dict.*, Subscribers' Names.  
*Popkin.* 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames.*  
*Popkins.* 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames.*

**10. Howel**, also *Howell*, ME. *Howel*, *Hoel*; Welsh *Howel*, *Hywel*. *Ap Howel* has become *Powel*, *Powell*; *ap Hywell* has become *Pywell*, *Pyell*.

(1) *Ap Howel* has become *Powel*, *Powell*.

- (a) Richard *ap Howel*. *a* 1550? in ELLIS, *Orig. Letters*, 3d ser. (1846), iii. 13.  
 Slayne, Dicken *ap ho<sup>u</sup>* dio Bagh [cald on preceding page *Richard ap Howell*]. *a* 1550? *Id.* iii. 14.  
 Rees *ap Howell*. *a* 1550? *Writs of Parliament*. (B. p. 589.)  
 Elizabeth *Ap-Howell*. *c* 1550? *Calendarium Inquisitionum post mortem*. (B. p. 586.)  
 James David *ap Hoelle*. 1562 *Churchwardens' accounts of the town of Ludlow* (Camden Soc. 1869), p. 112.

The form *ap Howel* early appears as *Uphowel*.

- (b) In this mene tyme sent the qween into Wales Herri erl of Lancastir, and William lord Souch, and Maister Keson *Uphowel* into Wales.  
*c* 1460 CAPGRAVE, *Chron.* (1858), p. 196.  
*Apowell*. 1860 LOWER, *P. B.*  
 (c) Richard *a Pouelle*. 1540 *Churchwardens' accounts of the town of Ludlow* (Camden Soc. 1869), p. 3.

In this case, as in some others, the *ap* reduced to *a* by attraction of *p* to the following name is sometimes restored to its full form, while the attracted *p* remains in its usurpt place — *ap Howell*, *a Powell*, then *ap Powell*, united *Appowell*.

- Hughe *ap Powelle*. 1560 *Churchwardens' accounts of the town of Ludlow* (Camden Soc. 1869), p. 99.  
 John *Appowell*. *a* 1600 *Valor Ecclesiasticus*. (B. p. 586.)  
 (d) Doctor *Powel*. 1520 *Rutland Papers* (Camden Soc. 1842), p. 34.  
 Thomas *Powelle*, carpenter. 1568 *Churchwardens' accounts of the town of Ludlow* (Camden Soc. 1869), p. 132.  
*Powel*. 1891 *New York Directory*.  
*Powell*. 1821 *Philadelphia Directory*; 1857 *New York Directory*.

*Ap Hywel* is represented by *Pyell*, *Pywell*, *Pyewell*, *Piewell*. Lower makes *Pywell* "local, 'the spring resorted to by magpies?'"

- (a) \**Ap Hywel*.  
 (d) John *Pyell* . . . the xliiii. yere [of Edw. III].  
*c* 1502 *Arnold's Chron.* (1811), p. xxviii.  
*Pyewell*. 1860 *New York Directory*.  
*Pywell*. 1889 and 1894 *Philadelphia Directory*.  
*Piewell*. 1861 *BOWDITCH, Suffolk Surnames*, p. 365.

**11. Hugh**, formerly also *Hughe*, *Heugh*, *Hew*, *Hewe*; Welsh *Huw*. *Ap Hugh* (*Ap Hew*, etc.) has produced the forms *Pugh*, *Pughe*, *Pue*, *Pew*.

- (a) *Ap Hugh*.  
 (b) Morice *Apew*. *c* 1550? *Rolls of Parliament*. (B. p. 588.)  
 (d) *Pugh* Aldighle, aliàs Audley, justice of North Wales.  
 1587 *HOLINSHED, Chron.* (in *Antiq. Repertory* 1807), i. 188.

Lewis *Pughe*, Esq., Dolyzcau.

1793 OWEN, *Welsh and Eng. Dict.*, Subscribers' names.

*Pew.* 1821 and 1889 *Philadelphia Directory*; 1860 *New York Directory*.

*Pugh.* 1821 and 1889 *Philadelphia Directory*.

*Pue.* 1889 *Philadelphia Directory*.

In like manner *Ab Hugh* (*Ab Hew*) has produced the surname *Bew*; tho this may in some cases represent the late Old French *beau*, a form of *bel*, and so be equivalent to the surname *Bell*. Compare *Bewley*, *Bewly*, from *Beaulieu*, ME. *Bewfort* for *Beaufort*.

(a) \**Ab Hugh*. [See *Ap Hugh*, above.]

(d) *Bew*. 1740 in BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames* (1861), p. 37; 1860 LOWER, *P. B.*

Perhaps the surname *Pye*, *Pie*, *Py*, is in some cases of the same origin.

*Pye*, which might be supposed to be derived from the bird so called, is a corruption of the Welsh, *Ap-Hugh*—*u* in that language having sometimes the sound of *y*. This name is exceedingly common in some districts of England and Wales. 1842 LOWER, *Eng. Surnames*, p. 104.

Mr. *Pye*. 1538 in *Letters relating to the Suppression of the Monasteries* (Camden Soc. 1843), p. 195.

*Pie*, *Pye*, *Pies*, . . . *Py*. 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 365.

*Pugh*, *Pue*, *Pew*, *Bew*, for *Ap Hugh*, ar etymologically identical with the Irish *MacHugh*, *M<sup>c</sup>Hugh*.

As from *Hugh*, *Hew*, we hav the patronymic genitiv *Hughes*, formerly also *Hewes*, so from *Pugh*, *Pew* we hav *Pewes*, *Pews*. But *Powes*, *Powis*, *Powys* ar due to the local name *Powis*, *Powys*.

12. **Humphrey**, *Humphry*, properly speld with *f*, as formerly, *Humfrey*, *Humfry*, *Umphrey*, *Umfrey*, *Umfry*, etc.

*Ap Humphrey* or *Umfrey* has produced *Pumphrey*, *Pumfrey*, *Pomfrey*.

(a) \**Ap Humphrey*.

(d) *Pumphrey*.

*Pomfrey*.

1860 LOWER, *P. B.*

1889 *Philadelphia Directory*.

13. **Ithel**, *Ithell*, *Ithall*. *Ab Ithel* has become *Bithell*, *Bethel*, *Bethell*.

Ann *Ithell*. a 1827 CLUTTERBUCK, *Hist. of Hertfordshire*. (B. p. 13.)

*Ithall*. 1889 *Philadelphia Directory*.

(a) Einion *ab Ithell* [squire to John of Gaunt].

a 1400 in YORKE, *Royal Tribes of Wales*, p. 14, note.

Evan *ap Ithell* . . . Jevan *ap Ithell*.

a 1603 *Cal. Proc. in Chancery* (Eliz.). (B. p. 525.)

John Williams *ab Ithel*. 1852 (Ed. Aneurin's *Gododin*).

(d) *Bithell*. 1842 LOWER, *Eng. Surnames*, p. 7.

*Bethel*. 1857 *New York Directory*.

*Bethell*. 1821 *Philadelphia Directory*.



- Preece.* 1857 *New York Directory*.  
*Preese.* 1891 *Id.*  
*Preez.* 1875 *Id.*
- (2) *Ab Rice, Rees*, etc., became *Brice, Bryce, Breece, Brees, Breese, Breeze*.

- (a) Gruffudd *ab Rhys* ab Tewdwr [died 1137].  
 1137 in YORKE, *Royal Tribes of Wales*, p. 36.  
 Meredydd *ab Rhys* [a Welsh poet].  
 a 1470 in London *Athenæum*, Aug. 25, 1894, p. 259.  
 Hywel Davydd ab Jevan *ab Rhys*.  
 c 1470 LEWIS GLYN COTHI, *Poem*, quoted by Halliwell,  
 Warkworth's *Chron.* 1839, p. 33, note.  
 Prys . . . *ab Rhys*. 1866 SPURRELL, *Dict. Welsh Lang.* p. 1.  
 (d) John Bromer, Herry *Bryce*, sherefs; the vi. yere . . . Hugh *Brice*, Robert  
 Colwich, sherefs; the xv. yere [sc. of Edward IV].  
 c 1502 *Arnold's Chron.* (1811), xxxv., xxxvii.

*Brice.* 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*.  
*Bryce.* 1857 *New York Directory*.  
*Breece.* 1821 *Philadelphia Directory*.  
*Brees.* 1860 *New York Directory*.  
*Breese.* 1860 *New York Directory*; 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*.  
*Breeze.* 1860 and 1861 *Id.*

17. **Richard**, Welsh *Ricert, Ritsiart*. *Ap Richard* is the source of the surnames *Prichard, Pritchard*, and of *Pricher, Prichett, Pritchett*, corruptions of *Prichard*.

- (a) Rhys Goch *ab Rhicert* [Welsh poet]. a 1400.  
 David *ap Richard*. 1548 *Churchwardens' accounts of the town*  
 of Ludlow (Camden Soc. 1869), p. 36.  
 Ivo *Ap-Richard*. a 1603 *Cal. Proc. in Chancery* (Eliz.). (B. p. 587.)  
 From *Rice ap Richard*, sprung from Dick a Cow,  
 Be cod, was right gud gentleman, look ye now.  
 1613 PARROT, *Laquei Ridiculosi, or Springes for Woodcocks*,  
 Epigr. 76. (Child, *Ballads*, vi. 68.)
- (b) John *Aprichard*. a 1603? *Valor Ecclesiasticus*. (B. p. 587.)  
*Aprichard*. 1889 *Philadelphia Directory*.
- (d) Edw. *Prichard*. 1647 in *Cymru Fu*, July 21, 1888, p. 232.  
 Rev. Mr. *Prichard*, Trelech.  
 1771 EVANS, *Eng.-Welsh Dict.*, Subscribers' names.  
*Prichard.* 1821 and 1889 *Philadelphia Directory*.  
*Pritchard.* 1857 *New York Directory*.  
*Pritcher.* 1889 *Philadelphia Directory*.  
*Prichett.* 1821 and 1889 *Id.*  
*Pritchett.* 1889 *Id.*

19. **Robert**, Welsh *Robert*, formerly *Rotpert*. *Ap Robert* became *Probert*; and *Probert* appears also as *Propert*. The change is lawful Welsh: "Kill the *poyes* and the luggage?" (1623 Shakespeare, *Henry V.* iv. 1; F<sup>1</sup> p. 88).

- (a) Meredydh *ap Rotpert*. 1213 in WARRINGTON, *Hist. of Wales*, p. 363.  
 Thomas *ap Robert*. 1585 *Churchwardens' accounts of the town*  
 of Ludlow (Camden Soc. 1869), p. 167.  
 Lloyd *ap Robert*. a 1603 *Cal. to Pleadings* (Eliz.). (B. p. 587.)  
 Ellice *Ap-Robert*. a 1603 *Cal. Proc. in Chancery* (Eliz.). (*Id.*)

- (d) *Probert*. 1857 *New York Directory*; 1889 *Philadelphia Directory*.  
*Propert*. 1821 and 1889 *Philadelphia Directory*; 1861 BOWDITCH,  
*Suffolk Surnames*, p. 462.

The surnames *Proper* and *Propper* are probably corruptions of *Propert*, as *Pritcher* is of *Pritchard*.

- Proper*. 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 120; 1889 *Philadelphia Directory*; 1860 and 1891 *New York Directory*.  
*Propper*. 1891 *New York Directory*.

20. **Robin**. See TRANSACTIONS, xxiv. 116. *Ap Robin*, *ap Robyn* became *Probyn*.

- (a) William *ap Robyn*. c 1500? *Rolls of Parliament*. (B. p. 587.)  
 William *Ap-robyn*. c 1500? *Materials for Hist. of Henry VII.* (B. p. 587.)  
 (d) *Probyn*. 1857 *New York Directory*.

21. **Roby**, *Robie*, is probably equivalent to *Robby*, *Robbie*, variant of *Robin*.

- Roby*. 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 410.  
*Robie*. 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 410.

I suppose \**Ap Roby* is the source of the Boston surname *Proby*.

- (a) \**Ap Roby*? (Compare *Ap Hoby*, from *Hoby*, *Hobby*.)  
 (d) *Proby*. 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 447.

22. **Roderick**, *Roderic*, Welsh *Roderic*, *Roderig*, *Rodri*. *Ab Roderick* appears to be the source of *Broderick*, *Brodrick*. Lower, however, says that the ancestors of the family *Broderick* "came from Normandy temp. William Rufus." It seems that a great many ancestors went from Normandy to England in order to found noble families. Later the noble families found the ancestors.

- (a) Cariadog ap Tho' *ap Rodric* ap Owen Gwynedh.  
 1204 in WARRINGTON, *Hist. of Wales*, 1786, p. 357.  
 Maredudd . . . *ab Rodri*, Lord of Anglesey.  
 1799 YORKE, *Royal Tribes of Wales*, p. 15, note.  
 (d) *Broderick*. 1857 *New York Directory*; 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 265.  
*Brodrick*. 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 426; 1891 *New York Directory*.

23. **Roger**, *Rodger*. *Ap Roger* (*Rodger*) has produced *Proger*, *Prodger*, whence *Progers*, *Prodgers*.

- (a) \**Ap Roger*. a 1603. (See next.)  
 (b) Roger *Aproger*. a 1603 *Cal. to Pleadings* (Eliz.). (B. p. 587.)  
 (d) *Prodger*. "A Tom *Prodger's* job"; a clumsy piece of work is so called: doubtless in remembrance of some individual of that name, whose local celebrity as an awkward, inefficient workman has been traditionally extended to the present day. 1854 BAKER, *Northampton Gloss.* ii. 137.  
*Progers*. 1857 *New York Directory*.



24. **Ross**, formerly *Rosse*, *Ros*. *Ap Ross* is the source of *Pross*.

(a) \**Ap Ross*.

(d) *Pross*. 1857 and 1891 *New York Directory*; 1889 *Philadelphia Directory*.

25. **Rosser**, a Welsh name.

*Rosser Morris*. a 1603 *Cal. Proc. in Chancery* (Eliz.). (B. p. 591.)

*William Rosser*. 1646 in *Cymru Fu*, Nov. 17, 1888.

*Rosser*. 1891 *New York Directory*.

*Ap Rosser* became *Prosser*.

(a) Marwnad Thomas *ab Rhosser* arglwydd Herast.

c 1470 LEWIS GLYN COTHI (Halliwell, note to Warkworth's *Chron.* 1839), p. 44.

Robert *ap Rosser*. a 1600? *Rolls of Parliament*. (B. p. 587.)

David *ap-Rosser*. a 1600? *Valor Ecclesiasticus*. (B. p. 587.)

(b) Thomas *Aprossehere* Vaghan, Squyere.

1473 WARKWORTH, *Chron.* (Camden Soc. 1839), p. 6.

John *Approsser*. a 1603 *Cal. Proc. in Chancery*. (B. p. 587.)

(d) *Prosser*. 1821 and 1889 *Philadelphia Directory*; 1857 and 1891 *New York Directory*; 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*.

Perhaps *Proser* is a variant of *Prosser*.

*Proser*.

1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*.

26. **Rothero**, *Rotheroe*, *Rothera*, *Rothery*, *Rudderow*, *Rhydero*, Welsh *Rhydero*.

*Rotheroe*. 1891 *New York Directory*.

*Rothera*. 1889 *Philadelphia Directory*.

*Rothery*. 1857 and 1860 *New York Directory*; 1889 *Philadelphia Directory*.

Richard *Rhydero*. 1771 EVANS, *Eng. Welsh Dict.*, title-page.

*Rudderow*. 1857 *New York Directory*; 1889 *Philadelphia Directory*.

*Ap Rothero* has resulted in *Prothero*, *Protheroe*.

(a) \**Ap Rothero*.

(d) *Protheroe*. 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 76.

*Protheroe*. 1857 and 1891 *New York Directory*.

*Prothero*. 1891 *New York Directory*.

27. **Rytherch**, Welsh *Rydderch*. *Ap Rhydderch* became *Prytherch*.

(a) Ieuan *ab Rhydderch* ab Ieuan Llwyd. fl. 1410-1440.

Welsh names . . . the following are unmistakably of Welsh origin:—

*Prytherch* from *ap Rhydderch*, Bowen, from *ap Owen* . . .

1889 *Cymru Fu*, Apr. 6, p. 385.

(d) Justice *Prytherch* in Anglesey.

1655 Bp. GOODMAN, *Will*, in Yorke, *Royal Tribes of Wales*, 1799, p. 168.

28. **Ulston**. *Ap Ulston* appears to be the source of the surname *Puleston*.

(a) Ryse *ap Morgon ap Ulston*.

1473 WARKWORTH, *Chron.* (Camden Soc. 1839), p. 7.

(d) Sir John *Puleston*.

1888 *Cymru Fu*, Feb. 4, p. 78.

But if the following form is correct, *Puleston* is in part at least of local origin.

Roger de *Puleston*.

1290 in WARRINGTON, *Hist. of Wales*, 1786.

**29. William.** This name became common in Welsh nomenclature, and in the patronymic form *Williams* vies with *Jones* for frequency. The earlier Welsh form is *Gwilym*, in English spelling *Guillim*. Equivalent to *Williams*, which stands for *William's son*, is *Ap William*, which has become reduced to *Pulliam*, a name that suggests Attraction by its very form.

(a) \**Ap William*.

(d) *Pulliam*.

1857 and 1860 *New York Directory*.

I hav noted about twenty other instances of surnames having an initial *P-* or *B-* apparently derived by Attraction from *ap*; but in the absence of positiv evidence I withhold them from print. The absence of such evidence is in some cases a mere accident. No one else seems to hav collected any evidence, and I hav not collected enough to enable me to come into court with the indifference of certainty.

Here ends for the present the long array of the classes of words which hav gaind or lost an initial consonant by Attraction. From the phenomena I hav set forth and the facts I hav establisht, many conclusions and morals may be drawn. But first let me ad certain new proofs or new illustrations of cases cited in my previous papers, and some new cases here set forth for the first time. The numbers refer to the original articles in TRANSACTIONS, xxiii. 181-305, and xxiv. 89-155.

§ I. Initial N gaind or lost. (TRANSACTIONS, xxiii. 180-305.)

I. A. Initial N gaind from the article *an*.

**26. Ape** (xxiii. 189). For further remarks on *jackanapes*, which I mentiond under *Ape* to deny its alleged connection with *ape*, see the present paper, p. 112.

**40. Ash-cloth** (xxiii. 197). I find *ash-cloth* in an other sense, a cloth for straining water through ashes.

(a) *Ash-cloth*. Before the use of soda was understood, the washerwomen used to soften the water by straining it through a coarse cloth, which was fastened over the top of the wash tub, and first covered with marsh mallow leaves and then with a layer of wood ashes.

1875 PARISH, *Sussex Gloss.*, Addenda, p. 133.

57. **Ay**, an egg. This word I hav fully illustrated (TRANSACTIONS, xxiii. 203-211), but I find some modern relics of it in two or three surnames which help to prove the assertion that it is contained reliquially in *cockney*.

The common surname *Birdseye*, tho generally taken as 'bird's eye,' *avis oculus*, is probably 'bird's egg,' *avis ovum*. Compare the German surname *Vogelei*, *Vogeley*, Eng. as if \**fowl-ay*, 'bird-egg.' I hav not lighted upon a name \**Vogelauge*, 'bird-eye.'

<i>Birdseye.</i>	1857 <i>New York Directory</i> ; 1861 <i>BOWDITCH, Suffolk Surnames</i> , p. 212, 474.
<i>Vogelei.</i>	1889 <i>Philadelphia Directory</i> .
<i>Vogeley.</i>	1857 and 1891 <i>New York Directory</i> .

That eggs may enter into surnames appears not only from the clear German instance *Vogelei*, *Vogeley*, already cited, but from the plain surnames *Egg* and *Eggs*, both authenticated. See also p. 122.

<i>Egg.</i>	1857 <i>New York Directory</i> ; 1861 <i>BOWDITCH, Suffolk Surnames</i> , p. 204.
<i>Eggs.</i>	1861 <i>BOWDITCH, Suffolk Surnames</i> , p. 204.

To my explanation of *cockney* as *cock* + *nay* for *an ay*, parallel to *cockaneg* for \**cocknegg*, from *cock* + *negg* for *an egg*, I ad the statement that there may be present in the ME. *cockney*, 'cock-egg,' a remembrance of the fable which derived the cockatrice from an egg laid by a cock when past seven years old. See a quotation in Larwood and Hotten, *Hist. of Signboards*, 1861, p. 161.

58. **Ayword** (xxiii. 212). I find one more instance of *nayword*, but it is in the buffooning of Cotton, and is not of the nature of original evidence.

And, with a gibing kind of *nayword*,  
 Quoth he, blind harpers have among ye.  
 1664-67 COTTON, *Virgil Travestie*. (Toone.)

70. **Eddy** (xxiii. 216). *An eddy* became *a neddy*, of which I gave many instances, one of date about 1450. I ad one of almost contemporary date.

We haue here nowe the moste foolysse fole, and the verayst *nedy* that euer I sawe, for he taketh the dogges mete from them, and eteth it himself, ther by a man may perfyetely knowe that he is a natural fole.  
 c 1480? *Robert the Devyll* (Thoms, *Early Prose Rom.* 1828, i. 34).

74. **Egg** (xxiii. 219). *An egg*, as I hav shown, became *a negg*, and *negg* existed in the sixteenth century in the compound *cockaneg*. I can now giv a seventeenth century example of *a negg*, which, taken with *cockaneg*, helps to confirm my explanation of *cockney* (xxiii. 206).

It is the custom for boys and girls in country schools . . . to goe in a gang from house to house with little clacks of wood, and when they come to any door they fall a beating their clacks and singing (the following) song, and expect from every house some *egg3*, or a piece of bacon. . . .  
 ‘Harings, Harings, white and red,      Ten a penny, Lent’s dead,  
 Rise, dame, and give a *Negg*,      Or else a piece of Bacon.’  
 1686-7 AUBREY, *Remaines of Gentilisme and Judaisme*.  
 (Northall, *Eng. Folk-Rhymes*, p. 196.)

87. *Eye*<sup>1</sup> (xxiii. 226). I giv a much later instance of the form *a nye*, for *an eye*, in the plural *nyes*.

So, take dis hand: winck now prea artely with your two *nyes*.  
 1600 DEKKER, *Old Fortunatus*.

Of the compounds or unions *birdsnye*, *pigsnye*, *pinknye*<sup>1</sup>, *pinknye*<sup>2</sup>, I giv some additional examples.

(2) *Pigsnye*, *pigsny*, a humorous term of endearment.

Above all other prayse must I  
 And love my pretty *pygsnye*.  
 a 1600? *Song*, in Ritson’s *Anc. Songs*, p. 114.  
 Thou art my sweet rogue, my lamb, my *pigsny*, my playfellow.  
 1607 *The Miseries of Inforst Marriage*. (Dodsley, ed. Hazlitt, ix. 547.)

(3) *Pink-nye*<sup>1</sup>, also *pinkany*, etc., a small or narrow eye. This term was also used, like *pigsnye*, as an expression of endearment.

She [Hero] was a pretty *pinkany*, and Venus priest.  
 a 1599 NASH. (*Amer. N. & Q.* viii. 133.)  
 No, sweet *pinkany*. 1599 PORTER, *Two Angry Women of Abington*.  
 (Dodsley, ed. Hazlitt, vii. 324.)

This *pink-nye* stil exists in the surname *Pinkney*, also written *Pinckney*, ME. *Pinkeney*, *Pinkenie*. I find *Pinkenie* even in the so-cald “Roll of Battel Abbey.” The persons who bear this name must have had among their ancestors some one who had narrow or winking eyes. In proof of this explanation I find the surname *Pinkey* without the attracted *n*. This is just ‘pink-eye.’

(4) *Pink-nye*<sup>2</sup>, also *pinkney*, *pinkeney*, and, I now ad, in the plural *pinkie nine*. I find it used of eyes inflamed by wine. “Who hath rednesse of eyes? They that tarry long at the wine; they that go to seeke mixt wine.” (1611 Bible, *Proverbs* xxiii. 29, 30.)

Oh most surpassing wine . . .  
 Thou makest some to stumble . . .  
 And me haue *pinkie nine*.  
 1594 LODGE, *Wounds of Civil War*. (Hunterian Club, p. 54.)

(6) *Wall-nyed*. I find an earlier instance, ME. *wolde-neighed*, misprinted by Weber *wolden-eighed*, which would mean, if it ment anything, ‘governd-eyed.’

In this tyme, nough fer thenne,  
 Woned a kyng of selkouth menne;  
 Hy ben y-cleped Albanyen,  
 Alle hy ben wighth men;  
 Her visages ben blue so Ynde,  
 Swiche other men ne may me non fynde,  
 Alle *wolden-eighed* [read *wolde-neighed*] hy beeth;  
 By nighth als a cat hy seeth.

c 1340? *Kyng Alisaunder*, l. 5268-5275. (Weber, *Metr. Rom.* i. 218.)

(7) *Blar-nyed* for *blear-eyed* occurs in the same century :

For smoke and smolder smyteth in his eyen,  
 Til he be *blere-nyed* [*bler-eyed* C] or blynde, and hors in the throte.

c 1377 LAGLAND, *Piers Plowman* (B.), xvii. 323.

The *blernyed* boynard. 1399 *Richard the Redeless*, ii. 164.

(8) *Biddies-nye*, that is, 'Biddy's eye,' 'chicken's eye,' is also found as a term of endearment.

Jella, why frown'st thou? Say, sweet *biddies-nie*,  
 Has hurt thy foote with treading late awry?

1611 DAVIES, *Scourge of Folly*. (Wr. p. 207.)

The same term in the normal form *biddy's-eyes* is applied to the pansy.

*Biddy's eyes*. The pansy. *Somerset*.

1857 WRIGHT.

This *nye* is latent in some proper names beside *Pinkney*.

(9) *Blackney* is 'black-eye,' a black-eyed person; so is *Blakeney*, in some instances; in others it appears to have been local, from *Blakeney* in Norfolk; which is probably 'Blake's island' or else 'Black island.'

*Blackney*.

1857 and 1891 *New York Directory*.

*Blakeney*.

1857 and 1891 *Id.*

The regular form *Blackeye*, as a surname, is now scarcely to be found in that form, a fact not surprising when one discerns the name in five other forms, *Blackee*, *Blackie*, *Blakey*, *Blakie*, *Blaikie*.

Robertus *Niger-Oculus* ['Black-Eye'] . . . pro feloniam suspensus.

a 1600? *Calendarium Genealogicum*. (B. p. 434.)

*Blackee*.

1857 *New York Directory*; 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 297.

*Blackie*.

1857 and 1891 *New York Directory*.

*Blakey*.

1857 *New York Directory*.

*Blakie*.

1821 *Philadelphia Directory*.

*Blaikie*.

1860 *New York Directory*.

(10) *Bulney*, 'bull-eye.' I find this surname.

Rauf *Bulney*.

a 1522 *Rutland Papers* (Camden Soc. 1842), p. 103.

I find a surname *Bulley* (1824 in Bowditch 1860; 1857 *New York Directory*), but I suppose the bull's eye is not concerned in it.

**92. Heel-to** (xxiii. 230). Of *neal-too* I note two other forms, *neale-too*, and *neal'd-to*, which latter may look to the supposed original *heald*.

*Neale-too* [1678 *Neal-too*], in Navigation, is when it is deep water close to the shore. 1671 PHILLIPS, *New World of Words*.

*Neal'd-to*, (Sea-Term) when it is deep Water, close to the Shore.

1706 PHILLIPS, *New World of Words*; same in 1715 KERSEY.

**103. Hoddy** (xxiii. 233). For *noddy* I give two quotations earlier than the first one given before (1573) :

Wyll you reedes be still bendyng bowing bodies?

Wyll you okes be still stoute stiffe necked *nodies*?

1562 J. HEYWOOD, *Proverbs and Epigrams* (Spenser Soc. 1867), p. 195.

*A Noddy*, morio.

1570 LEVINS, *Manip. Voc.* 97, l. 5.

**104. Hoddy-peak** (xxiii. 235). I find an other spelling *hodie-peake*.

(a) Who hereth nought, Nor nought can speake,  
Maie soone be thought A *hodie peake*.

1562 J. HEYWOOD, *Proverbs and Epigrams* (Spenser Soc. 1867), p. 96.

(b) Bauc. A sot, asse, doul, dull-pated *noddipeake*.

1611 COTGRAVE.

**112. Hour** (xxiii. 237). This is an earlier quotation for *a nour*.

And þe space of *a noure* hit stykkyd þer ry3t so.

c 1420 *Vita S. Etheldredae Eliensis*, I. 1013. (Horstmann, *Altengl. Legend.* 1881, p. 305.)

**120. Idiot** (xxiii. 240). Here is an other instance of the assimilated form, *idget*, here speld *ijut*.

There were two or three men on Scott's River, and one Chinaman, that we used to think smart, but they were doddering *ijuts* to him.

1893 BRET HARTE, *The Heir of the McHulishes* (*Cent. Mag.* Oct. p. 925.)

I give an example of *nidiot*, fifty years older than the earliest given before :

Than sayd Johan of Florence "we may all well be called fooles & *nydeates* that trust our wyfes in this maner as we do."

c 1510? *Frederyke of Jennen* (Douce Fragments No. 79), cited by Furnivall, *Laneham's Letter* (N. S. S. 1890), p. xxvii.

To the 161 cases of Attraction of this sort which I have enumerated, and the ten or more which I omitted in printing as being trivial or for other reasons, as stated in TRANSACTIONS, xxiii. 253, I add a few more, which I think worthy of notice.

**162. Aker**, or to use the accepted error of spelling, *acher*, 'that which causes pain.' I suspect that *an aker*, miswritten *a nakir*, is the explanation of the mysterious word *nakir*, defined as "a wandering pain passing from one limb to another."

- (a) \*
- An aker*
- .

a 1800?

And this same tooth pursued their track,  
By adding *achers* unto *achers*.

a 1845 HOOD, *True Story*, iii. (1871) 317. (N. E. D.)

- (b) *Nakir*. A wandering pain passing from one limb to another. *Wright*.  
1860 WORCESTER. (Not in 1846 Worcester.)

The word *nakir* here ascribed to "Wright," is not in Wright's *Provincial Glossary*, 1857, in its alphabetic place.

**163. Ark**, ME. *ark*, *arke*. ME. *an ark* appears as *a nark*.

- (a) (b) þan of a *nark* [var. *an ark*, *an arke*, *oon arke*] to þam he spak,  
In Godd wirscip for to mak.  
c 1300 *Cursor Mundi* (Cotton ms.) (E.E.T.S.), l. 6659.

**164. Ebber**, ME. *ebber*, *obber*, *eber*, *æbære*, AS. *æber*, *æbær* (= O. Fries. *äber*, *auber*, Bav. *aber*), manifest, open, from *ā-* + *beran*, bear. The fiend when he had deceived Adam and Eve boasted; but—

He leied, þat *eber* file [var. *fals file*, *fals þeof*], for-quī  
þat yett of man had God merci.

c 1300 *Cursor Mundi* (Cotton ms.) (E.E.T.S.), l. 813.

þar lighes now, *eber* [var. *foule*; 2 mss. diff.] pantener.

c 1300 *Cursor Mundi* (Cotton ms.) (E.E.T.S.), l. 5143.

ME. *an eber fole*, 'a manifest crazy person,' appears as *a neber fole*.

- (a) Hym that we halde wyse, 3e halde *an ebber* fule.  
a 1400 *Ms. Linc. A. i. 17*, f. 37. (H. p. 328.)
- (b) Sco [var. *scho*, *she*, *ho*, sc. Herodias] cried and mad ful mikel dole,  
Als sco þat was a *neber* [var. *an ebber*, *ane obber*, *a grete*] fole:  
c 1300 *Cursor Mundi* (Cotton ms.) (E.E.T.S.) l. 13040.

**165. Edge-tool**. *An edge-tool*, with its proverbial uncertainty of action, makes a slip and appears in ME. as *a nege tole*.

Hys fader hard noys, and rode toward hem, and hys men ronne befor hym  
thyderward; and in the goying downe of hys hors, on, he wotte not ho,  
behynd hym smot hym on the hede with a *nege tole*, men know not with  
us with what wepone, that he fell downe; and hys son fell downe be fore  
hym as good as dede. 1448 *Paston Letters*, ed. Gairdner (1872), i. 74.

**166. Halfpenny**, commonly pronounced *hapeny*, or with the prevalent British lack of aspiration, *apeny*.

- (a) Colloquially, we all say '*apeny*'; but in public most of us say *halfpenny*.  
1894 W. C. B. in *N. and Q.*, 8th ser. vi. 96.

This candid confession one Englishman denies with all the just indignation of a man conscious of others' guilt.

"O illegitimate construction! I scorn it with my heels!" "All," indeed!  
I never said *apeny* in my life; and would as soon say '*eeels*.'

1894 HENRY H. GIBBS, in *N. and Q.*, 8th ser. vi. 290.

I find an '*apeny*' as a *napeny*, in a society magazine. You can find things even in a society magazine.

- (b) And the fare was ten bob if 'twas a *napeny*.  
1862 *London Society*, Sept., p. 209.

**167. III.** *An ill name* goes from bad to worse, and falls into a *nyll name*.

- (b) Have ye bakbytyd ore slaunderd any man or woman & browght them in a *nyll name*?  
a 1600 *Sloane MS.* 1584. (*Laneham's Letter*, N. S. S. 1890, p. cxxx.)

**168. Inn.** I find in ME. *an in* written a *nin*.

- (a) *An in.* c 1300 *Cursor Mundi* [see below].  
Whoe'er has travell'd life's dull round,  
Whate'er his stages may have been,  
May sigh to think he still has found  
The warmest welcome at an *inn*. a 1763 SHENSTONE.  
(b) Yee ga wit him, he sall yow bring  
Until a *nin* [var. *an in*, *ane in*] ful skete [so 2 mss.; var. *squete*, *mete*].  
c 1300 *Cursor Mundi* (Cotton ms.) (E.E.T.S.), l. 15191.

I. B. Initial N lost by Attraction to the article *a*.

The following additional case, tho noted before in an other connection, is to be recorded here.

**32. Naples**, or *Napes*, ME. *Naples*, *Napels*, *Napuls*, also with loss of *l*, *Napes*, also without *s*, *Napele*, from OF. *Naples* = It. *Napoli*, from L. *Neapolis*, Gr. Νεάπολις, 'Newtown,' a city in Italy. Naples was once wel known to Englishmen as the name of a port from which, as I hav shown, came many "commodities and nycetees," "nifles, trifles," and "thyngs of complacence" (TRANSACTIONS, xxiii. 193). These things wer known as 'of Naples,' or in the vernacular, a *Napes*; as we hear of *articles de Paris*, and as they used to speak of *Birmingham ware*, in the vulgar tung *Brummagem ware*, briefly *Brummagem*. But a *Napes* came to be misunderstood, and was turnd into an *apes* and an *ape*; in the manner following, that is to say:

(1) *Fustian a Napes*, also found in the precise form *fustian of Naples* (1598), *fustian of Napuls* (1463) came to be written *fustian an apes* (1575), *fustian an apes* (1611), *fustian an Apes* (1611), and even *fustian and apes* (a 1627); "with a desperate desire and a resolute endeavor," like the fire in Mr. Poe's jingle of "The Bells," to get out of its proper sphere. The fire, if we may believ Mr. Poe,



desired "now, now to sit or never, by the side of the pale-faced moon." An other perversion appears in *fuschian in appules* (1519). The forms and quotations are set forth in my first paper under *Ape*, TRANSACTIONS, xxiii. 192, 193). I add a mention of the *F. gros de Naples*, a kind of silk.

I have lighted upon the English text of the original petition of the Commons, which by the royal assent became the statute 3 Edward IV., cited in the N. E. D. in the French version.

That noo man but such as hath possessions of the yerely value of xl s. or  
nor were in Aray for his body . . . eny Fustian, Bustian, nor *Fustian*  
[printed *Fastian*] of *Napuls*, Scarlet Cloth engrayned . . .  
1463 *Petition against the inordinate use of Apparell and Aray*  
(in *Antiquarian Repertory*, 1808, iii. 420).

(2) *Jack a Naples*, 'Jack of Naples,' was, as I have explained, a popular humorous term for a performing ape or monkey, imported from Naples, and usually exhibited by Italians. The name came to be written *Jack an Apes*, *Jack-an-apes*, *Jacke-Napes*, *Jack Napes*, *Jac Napes*, etc., settling down to *Jackanapes*; and then, seeming to be a plural form, it was made singular by lopping off the *s*, and people spoke of *a jackanape*, *two jackanapes*, etc.; tho the original form still remains as a singular.

The history of the word is well shown in the 38 quotations which I gave (TRANSACTIONS, xxiii. 190-193); but because the first instance of the use of the word remains to be discovered, and because the explanation I have given is not generally known, I give the forms so far discovered in their chronologic order, according to the earliest date I know for each, and add some more quotations: *Jac Napes* (a 1450), *Jac Nape* (a 1450), *Jack Napis* (a 1450), *Jack Napes* (a 1529), *Jack-an-apes* (a 1536), *jackanapes* (a 1536), *Jucke-a-napes* (1543), *Jacke-Napes* (1592), *iakeanapes* (1611), *jucanapes* (1616), *Iack an Apes* (1623), *Iacke-an-Apes* (1623), *Iack-an-ape* (1623), *Iack 'Nape* (1623), *Jack an Ape* (1637), *jackanape* (1822), *jackanips* (1823).

The forms to be discovered are *\*Jak a Naples*, and the original *\*Jak of Naples*, before the year 1450 and probably about 1400. In the first quotation below *Jack Napis* is used satirically, as in the previous quotations of the same date referring to the same person.

Wherefore Beamownt, that gentille rache,  
Hath brought *Jack Napis* in an eville cache.  
a 1450 *On the arrest of the duke of Suffolk* (Pol. Poems and Songs,  
1861, ii. 225).

A *Jackanapes* hath wit. 1590 *Three Lords and Three Ladies of London*.  
(Dodsley, ed. Hazlitt, v. 385.)

The Grenning *Jackanapes* [a sign] over against the Vnicorne in the Iewrie.  
1593 ELIOT, *Fruits for the French*, or *Parlement of Prattlers*.  
(*Hist. of Signboards*, 1866, p. 440.)

Queen. My dear son Jack!

John. Your dear son *Jack-an-apes*!

Your monkey, your baboon, your ass, your gull.

1600 *Look About You* (Dodsley, ed. Hazlitt, vii. 429).

*Jack-an-Apes*.

1678 LITTLETON (*Gent. Mag.*, 1777).

An Ape, or *Jackanapes*. Simia, f., Simius, m.

1693 *Linguae Romanae Dictionarium luculentum novum*.

To Mr. John Wright, at the "*Jackanapes* on Horseback."

1700 Advertisement quoted in *Hist. of Signboards*, 1866, p. 440.

The false singular *jackanape* is foreshadowd in the early form "*Jac Nape soule*" beside "*Jac Napes soule*" (c 1450; TRANSACTIONS, xxiii. 191), and in Dr. Caius's broken English *Iack-an-ape*, *Iack 'Nape* (1623; TRANSACTIONS, xxiii. 191). The following is a later quotation.

Can *Iack an Ape* be merry when his clog is at his heele?

1637 Proverb, in Camden, *Remaines*, p. 294.

29. **Navel.** I find *avel* for *navel* in the printed text of *Palladius on Husbondrie* (E.E.T.S., 1872, p. 213), but the facts that a *navel* has never been a current phrase (*the navel* is the common form), and that the printed text mentiond is il edited and not to be trusted at critical points, incline me to regard *avel* as a mere blunder.

II. Cases involving the old dativ form *then* of the article *the*.

A. Cases in which the final *n* of Middle English *then* has become attacht to the following word; as in *at then ashe*, *atten ashe*, *atte nashe*, and so *Nash*. See TRANSACTIONS, xxiii. 279-287.

8. **Ash** (xxiii. 282).

Here lyes the Collyer, John of *Nashes*,  
By whom Death nothing gain'd, he swore:  
For living he was dust and ashes,  
And being dead he is no more.

a 1637 *Epitaph* in Camden, *Remaines*, p. 416.

4. **Oven** (xxiii. 281). I mentiond *Thomas atte Novene*. As *oven* became in dialectal speech *oon*, so *Novene* has become *Noon*, *Noone*, a common surname. Lower gave up the etymology of *Noone* "in

despair," but when he waxt really desperate he usually gave an explanation, if not two. The etymologist who hesitates is lost. If he does not hesitate, he is in great danger.

- (b) A third group of surnames of similar appearance, Day, Weekes, Mattin and Dawn, Evening and Vesper, *Noone* and Morrow, may here be noticed.  
 . . . *Noone* I give up in despair.

1860 LOWER, *Patronymica Britannica*, p. 347.  
*Noon.* 1889 *Philadelphia Directory*.  
*Noone.* 1889 *Philadelphia Directory*.  
 Francis *None.* 1548 in ELLIS, *Orig. letters*, 3d ser. 1846, iii. 302.

The 15 instances of surnames in *N-*, derived from locativ phrases originally beginning with *at then* . . ., *atten* . . ., *atte N-*, by no means exhaust the list. Reserving some doubtful cases, I ad 6 more.

16. **Ey**, ME. *ey*, AS. *ēg*, *īg*, an island. Some one living *atten eye*, *atten ye*, 'at the island,' may be the ancestor of the wel known William *Nye*, and probably also of those named *Ney* (when not French), *Nay*, and *Naye*.

- (a) *Nash* is, in like manner a corruption of *Atten-Ash*, and *Nye* of *Atten-Eye*, at the island. 1842 LOWER, *Eng. Surnames*, p. 40.  
 (b) *Nye.* 1889 *Philadelphia Directory*.  
*Ney.* 1889 *Id.*  
*Nay.* 1860 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*.  
*Naye.* 1889 *Philadelphia Directory*.

17. **Hill**. Various persons wer, and some stil ar, located 'at the hill,' ME. *atten hylle*; and this locativ phrase becoming a surname, emerged sometimes as *Nill* and sometimes as *Till* (see p. 123); in most cases it has been reduced to the simple *Hill*.

- (a) *Atten hylle.* (See *Atte hylle*, p. 123.)  
 (b) *Nill.* 1857 *New York Directory*; 1889 *Philadelphia Directory*.

18. **How**, a hill; ME. *how*, *howe*. William or John *atten howe* may be the ancestor of persons now cald *Now*; as he is of those cald *How* and *Howe* and *Hough*, where the attracted *n* does not appear.

- (a) *Atten howe.* a 1500? (See *Atte howe*, Bardsley, p. 563.)  
 (b) Naturally enough, we have [in Boston] but one *Now*, while we have a long series of *Morrow*s. We are truly a go-ahead people; and accordingly no *Yesterdays*. I find indeed, a Mr. *Yesterday* at Philadelphia. 1860 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 281.

There was no *Yesterday* in Philadelphia in 1821 or 1889, nor is there any to-day. There was one *Now* in Philadelphia in 1889, but he was untimely, and is *Now* no more.

- Now* [1 entry]. 1889 *Philadelphia Directory*.  
 (c) *How.* 1821 *Philadelphia Directory*.  
*Howe.* 1889 *Philadelphia Directory*.

19. **Iland**, commonly misspeld *island*. One living *atten iland*, 'at the iland,' has given rise to the surname *Niland*, also speld *Nyland*, and found also as *Nilan*. I hav not found the surname \**Island* as yet.

(a) \**Atten iland*.

a 1500?

(b) *Niland*.

1889 *Philadelphia Directory*.

*Nyland*.

1857 and 1891 *New York Directory*.

*Nilan*.

1889 *Philadelphia Directory*.

20. **Ile**, commonly misspeld *isle*. One living *at then ile*, *atten ile*, may be the father of those cald *Nile*.

(a) \**Atten ile*.

a 1500?

(b) *Nile* (1860) . . . Mr. *Nile* lives at Ottawa, C. W.

1860 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 174.

(c) In England are families of Gravel, *Isle*, Ore, Rill and River.

1860 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 247.

The surname *De Lisle*, *Delisle*, formerly *De Lyle*, *del Yle*, and the simple *Lisle*, *Lyle*, hav a similar origin in the French.

Sir Gerard *de Lyle* . . . Sir Robert *del Yle* . . . Sir Bawdyn *de Lyle*.

a 1400 *Names and Arms of the Ancient Nobility* (in *Antiquarian Repertory*, 1807, i. 114).

21. **Iles**, commonly misspeld *isles*, also enters into surnames. Some one living *atten iles* must hav been the supernominal ancestor of the families cald *Niles*, if this name is not a patronymic genitiv of *Nile*, above. I find also the surnames *Isles* and *Islet* without the attracted *n*.

(b) *Niles*.

1821 and 1889 *Philadelphia Directory*; 1860 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 446.

(c) *Iles*.

1857 *New York Directory*; 1860 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 242, 448; 1889 *Philadelphia Directory*.

Mr. *Islet* lives at Montreal; Mr. *Isles* at Philadelphia.

1860 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 249.

*Isles*.

1889 *Philadelphia Directory*.

### III. Cases involving *mine* or *thine*.

A. Cases in which the final *n* has become attacht to the following noun. See TRANSACTIONS, xxiii. 289-301.

2. **Ancestor** (xxiii. 289). This is the full text of the quotation for the attracted form :

(b) A pore pryery, a fundacion off *my nawynsetres*.

1535 *Letters relating to the Suppression of the Monasteries*, Camden Soc. (1843), p. 51.

6. **Eye** (xxiii. 290). I giv a very early example of the attracted form of *thine eye*.

- (a) Why holdes *thine eie* that lamentable rhewme,  
Like a proud riuier peering ore his bounds?  
1623 SHAKESPEARE, *King John* ii. (F<sup>1</sup> p. 8.)
- (b) And i be sai þou sal þer dei,  
Ioseph þi sun sal luke *þi nei* [var. *þin eye*, *þine eye*, *þin e3e*].  
c 1300 *Cursor Mundi* (Cotton ms.) (E.E.T.S.), l. 5223.

9. **Ore**, grace (xxiii. 291). This is an other very early example.

- Vndo, vndo, leuedi, *þi nare* [var. *þin are*, *þin ore*, *thyne ore*]  
To this caitif casten in care!  
c 1300 *Cursor Mundi* (Cotton ms.) (E.E.T.S.), l. 10099.

11. **Own** (xxiii. 291). The following additional quotations will show how very common was the use of *my nown*, *thy nown*, for *myn own*, *thine own*.

- (1) *Mine own*, *my nown*.
- (b) For I aman [a man] in graf digt,  
In a toubþ þat was *my nawen* [var. *mine auen*, *myn owen*].  
c 1300 *Cursor Mundi* (Cotton ms.), (E.E.T.S.), l. 17312.
- Wrytyn with *my nowne* chaunsery hand, yn hast.  
1448 *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner, 1872), i. 76.
- For the excuse of *my nown* comyng.  
1458? EARL OF SALISBURY in *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner, 1872), i. 421.
- But my wyves [coseyn] and j. coseyn of *myn nowne* that were yomen of  
the Croune, they went to the Kyng, and got grase and j. charty of pardon.  
1456 *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner, 1872), i. 135.
- My nown* dere sone.  
c 1488-1503 in *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner, 1872), iii. 398.
- My *nanne* [nawne?] good Lord.  
1515 "MARY *Quene of France*," Letter in Ellis, *Orig. Letters*, 3d ser.  
1846, i. 120.
- But for *my none* parte . . . I have and doe wish a good and a sure peace . . .  
1586 EARL OF LEYCESTER in *Leycester Correspondence*  
(Camden Soc. 1844), p. 246.

(2) *Thine own*, *thy nown*.

- (b) Qui sekis þou me þat es *þi naun* [var. *þin aun*, *þine awen*, *þin owen*]?  
c 1300 *Cursor Mundi* (Cotton ms.) (E.E.T.S.), l. 7742.
- (3) *His nown*.
- (b) That's *his nown* sweet boy.  
1596 NASH, *Summers' Last Will and Testament*.

12. **Aunt** (xxiii. 293). This is an earlier example for *thy naunt* :

- For-qui his moder was *þi naunt* [var. *þin aunt*, *tin anl*].  
c 1300 *Cursor Mundi* (Cotton ms.) (E.E.T.S.), l. 24675.

18. **Ell** (xxiii. 298). This abbreviation of *Ellen*, from which, in *mine Ell*, has come *my Nell*, I hav cald unrecorded. I can now

record it on personal information, as in present use. Tho hitherto unnoticed, it must of course be old. In an old broadside I find an other *El* bravely used for *Elizabeth*:

- (a) So thus my leaue I take: O souldier, now farewell:  
No more to do now will I make, But God preserue Queene *El*.  
c 1580 in *Anc. Ballads and Broad-sides* (1870), p. 120.
- (b) Then we will have little *Nell* . . .  
And Jane with the black lace;  
We will have bouncing Bess also.  
c 1520 *The Four Elements* (Dodsley, ed. Hazlitt, i. 26).  
I would faine haue arm'd to day, but my *Nell* [Helen] would not haue  
it so. 1623 SHAKESPEARE, *Tr. and Cr.* iii. i. (F<sup>1</sup> p. [90].)

26. **Ike**, a contraction of *Isaac*, *Izaak*. I have shown how *myne Ikey* gave rise to *Nikey* (TRANSACTIONS, xxiii. 301). I note an other diminutiv form *Niken*, speld *Nykin*, represented as a wife's baby-talk name for her husband *Isaac* (1687 Congreve, *Old Bachelor*, iv. 4).

I record some additional cases under this hed.

27. **Hick**. *Mine Hick* has probably given rise to *my Nick* and so to *Nick* in other positions. But *Nick* is also in part, in greater part, an abbreviation of *Nicol*, once a very common name, ME. *Nicol*, OF. *Nicole*, ML. *Nicolas*, LL. *Nicolaus*, Gr. Νικόλαος.

- (a) *Mine Hick*?  
(b) William fil. *Nyck*. a 1600 *Writs of Parliament*. (B. p. 579.)  
Here lyeth Thom. *Nicks* body,  
Who lived a foole and dyed a nody.  
a 1637 *Epitaph* in Camden, *Remaines*, p. 403.  
Nan, Noll, Kate, Moll, Brave lasses have lads to attend 'em,  
Hodge, *Nick*, Tom, Dick, Brave country dancers, who can amend 'em?  
a 1700 *Joan to the Maypole*. (B. p. 95.)

28. **Hickon**, *Hicken*, *Hickin*. See much about this form in other parts of this paper (TRANSACTIONS, xxiii. 231, 232; xxiv. 128).

*Mine Hicken* or *Hicken* would result in \**my Nicken* or *Nickin*, which I find as a surname \**Nicken*, *Nickens*, *Nickins*.

Hannah *Nickins*, widow [colored]. 1821 *Philadelphia Directory*.  
*Nickens*. 1889 *Id*.

29. **Hob**. *Mine Hob* would result in \**my Nob*, whence the surname *Nobb*, *Nobbs*. *My Hob* also occurs.

- (a) Thoo's a good lad, *my Hobb*. 1685 *Yorkshire Dialogue*. (See xxiv. 117.)  
(b) *Nobbs*. 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*.

IV. Cases in which the final *n* of *none* has become attacht to the following noun (xxiii. 302). The following ar additional cases.

3. **End.** ME. *nan end*, *non end*, appears as *na nend*.

þai wat þair pine sal ha *na nend* [var. *nan ende*, *noon ende*, *no end*].  
c 1300 *Cursor Mundi* (Cotton ms.) (E.E.T.S.), l. 23263.

4. **Ending.** ME. *nan ending*, *noon ending* appears as *na nending*.  
The three kings ar led on by the star to Bethlehem :

þir kinges rides forth thair rade,  
þe stern, alwais þam forwit [var. *by fore hem*] glade,  
þai said, "far we nu to yond king  
þat sal on erth haf *na nending* [var. *nan euening*, *non evenyng*, *noon euenynge*]." c 1300 *Cursor Mundi* (Cotton ms.) (E.E.T.S.), l. 11427.

The various readings indicate, however, that *ending* in the Cotton ms. is a substitute for *evening*, meaning 'equal,' literally 'comparison.'

I hav to record an other class of attraction of N.

VI a. Words which hav attracted *n* from a preceding conjunction *an* or '*n* for *and*.

**Blood and wounds**, a relic of a once common oath, reduced in the vernacular to *blood an' ouns*, written also *blood an(d) oons*, became in easy speech *blood 'n' ouns*, *blood'nouns*, and then simply *nouns*.

- (a) The bluff dragoons swore *blood and 'ouns*,  
They'd make the rebels run, man.  
1745 ADAM SKIRVING, *The Battle of Tranent-Muir, or of Preston-Pans*. (Child, *Ballads*, vii. 169.)

The cutting shaver, that swears *wounds and blood*.  
1600 *The Newe Metamorphosis*. (Wr. p. 845.)

A curious survival of this phrase appears in the name *blood-nouns*, sometimes *bloody-nouns*, applied by boys in the city of Washington some years ago, and I dare say now, to bull-frogs. The boys do not, or did not when I was one of them, know the origin of *blood-nouns*; perhaps, as the form *bloody-nouns* suggests, they thought of something dark and dredful, like the parts of speech. I suppose, now, that *blood-nouns* is an old term, transferd from the oath, or from some blood-curdling tale of giants. Giants whom I heard about then frequently said "Fe-fo-fi-fum, I smel the blood of an Englishmun," and said it in a deep bass voice. The frogs had also a deep bass voice. It was no stuttering Greek squawk —

but a deep Roman hoarseness :

Loud thunder to its bottom shook the bog,  
And the hoarse nation croak'd, "God save King Log!"  
1729 POPE, *Dunciad*, i. 329.

The frogs wer therefore cald *blood-nouns*. But we did not then think of it so curiously: and so far as I know, the name is now recorded for the first time. I hav been informd that the term is or was known in Virginia, Ohio and Iowa.

The last reduction of the phrase left it a more or less innocuous monosyllable, *nouns* :

"*Nouns*, man, the White hall gateways were planned by the great Holbein," answered Mr. George. 1822 SCOTT, *Fortunes of Nigel*, ii.

The original form of the oath in question, omitting the adjectiv *by*, was *God's blood and wounds*; one of the innumerable ways in which the "realism" of medieval piety lent itself, as all "realism" in all ages must, to base uses. "Realism" is that which is regarded as true, because it is vile. After the oath was reduced to *blood an' ouns*, *blood 'n' ouns*, and *nouns*, the possessiv *God's* was sometimes restored, in a perverted form, *gogs nouns*, *odds nouns*; the word *blood* of the original phrase being wholly lost.

He stampd and stard,  
And swore *gogs nownes*,  
He beat the villen downe.  
1577 KENDALL, *Flowers of Epigrammes* (1874), p. 176.

Diácene, god forbid, gods forbod, an interiection, *gogs nouns*.

1598 FLORIO.  
And for prompt service — *odds nouns*! it should be prompt to be useful.  
1822 SCOTT, *Fortunes of Nigel*, xiii.

For a treatment of the other form *zounds* for *God's wounds*, and of similar cases of Attraction, I must refer to a reservd paper, or to the military history of Flanders.

## § II. Initial T gaind.

IX. Cases involving the preposition *at*. TRANSACTIONS, xxiv. 96-98.

The following additional cases of this kind of Attraction ar noted. Additional cases under this and other classes ar numberd in sequence after the last case previously noted.

12. **Abbey.** One living *atte abbey* was the ancestor of those who ar cald *Tabbey* or *Tabby*; who hav no feline relations. With the omission of the preposition and article, the surname became *Abbey*.



It will be observed that surnames like *Ash*, *Abbey*, *Hill*, *How*, etc., are not identical with the nouns *ash*, *abbey*, *hill*, etc., but are reductions of the full locative phrases *atte ash*, *atte abbey*, *atte hill*, etc. They thus come third in mention — (c) after (a) and (b).

- (a) (b) Diuers also had names from trees neare their habitations, as *Oke*, *Ashe*, *Box*, *Alder*, *Elder*, *Beach*. . . . And here is to be noted that diuers of this sort have been strangely contracted, as At Ashe into Tash, At Oke into Toke, At Abbey into Tabbey, At the End into Thend.  
 1637 CAMDEN, *Remaines*, p. 122.  
 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*.  
 1860 LOWER, *P. B.*  
 1889 *Philadelphia Directory*.
- (b) *Tabbey*.  
*Tabby*.  
 (c) *Abbey*.

15. **Ax.** Some one living at the sign of the Ax, \**John atte Axe*, may be the ancestor of persons named *Tax*, *Tacks*; as an other person, or the same, *John atten Axe*, is the ancestor of those called *Nax* (see TRANSACTIONS, xxiii. 284).

- (a) Mary at Ax, diocis London. c 1502 *Arnold's Chron.* (1811), p. 251.  
 Printed for William Gay, and to be sold at his shop in Hosier Lane, at the signe of the *Axe*, July 29, 1642.  
 1642 *A Petition*, etc. (*Hist. of Signboards*, p. 346.)  
 (b) *Tax*. 1860 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 87.

I find the parish of St. Mary *Axe* given a distinctly scriptural position by changing the *Axe* into the *Acts* — of the apostles!

- (c) Hen. Ramsey, a joyner, in *St. Mary Acts*, at the signe of the Sugar Loafe.  
 1675 *Letter*, in *Antiq. Repertory* (1809), iv. 637.

The frequency of the custom of designating a person as living 'at the sign of' so-and-so, appears from a story of a seventeenth-century Ghost. This Ghost told a man where to find certain hidden money and papers, which were to be "delivered according to his orders, to some of his relations living in such a house in Southwarke, who were off such a name, *at such a sygne*, and were y<sup>e</sup> forth generation from him." (1675 Fr. Morgan, *Letter*, in *Antiq. Repertory*, 1809, iv. 636).

15. **Eagle.** I have shown (TRANSACTIONS, xxiii. 284) how *atten egle* became *Neagle*, *Naigle*, *Nagle*. With the article all lost, *atte egle* became *Teagle*; a surname found in several places. With preposition and article both lost, the name becomes *Eagle* or *Egle*.

- (b) *Teagle*. 1889 *Philadelphia Directory*; 1891 *New York Directory*.  
 (c) *Eagle*. 1857 *New York Directory*.  
*Egle*. 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*.

**17. Edder**, also *eder*, *ether*, a hedge, an inclosure; ME. \**eder*, AS. *edor*, *eder*, *eodor* = OS. *edor*, etc. William \**atte edder*, may have been the ancestor of William *Tedder*, and perhaps of Mr. *Teather*.

- (b) Wylliam *Tedder*. 1588 *Book* in H. Sotheran & Co.'s *Catalog No. 526*, p. 23.  
*Teather*. 1857 *New York Directory* · 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 321.

**18. Egg**. A man living 'at the sign of the egg,' and there were such signs, would sometimes be called William or John *atte egge*; and he may be regarded as the ancestor of the present bearers of the surnames *Tegg* and *Tagg*. Eggs are in some quarters *aggs*. Without the preposition the surname appears as *Egg*, *Egge*.

- (a) In Norwich there was (and we believe is still) a curious combination, the Whip and *Egg*, which existed in that locality as early as the year 1750, and which is enumerated in London, under the name of the Whip and *Eggshell*, amongst the taverns in the black letter ballad of "London's Ordinarie, or Everie Man in his Humour," whilst a still earlier mention occurs in Mother Bunch's Merriment, (1604,) when the transformation of pigs into fowls, whereby one of the gulls was so "sweetly deceived," is laid at the whip and *Eggshell*. It has been explained as a corruption of the Whip and Nag, but the combination of these two would be so obvious that a corruption would scarcely be possible.  
 1866 LARWOOD and HOTTEN, *Hist. of Signboards*, p. 357.  
 The Whip and *Eggshell*, and the Broom by name.  
 1685 *Great Britain's Wonder*. (*Hist. of Signboards*, 1866, p. 357.)  
 (b) *Tegg*. 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*.  
 (c) *Egg*. 1857 *New York Directory*.  
*Egge*. 1889 *Philadelphia Directory*.  
*Eggs*. 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*.

**20. Harp**. A man located at the sign of the harp, *atte harpe*, may be regarded as the ancestor of the families called *Tarp*, as well as of those called *Harp*.

The *Harp*, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, was the sign of a bird-fancier, "over against Somerset House in the Strand" [*London Gazette*, 1700], and is still used as the sign of many public-houses, generally denoting an Irish origin.

- 1866 LARWOOD and HOTTEN, *Hist. of Signboards*, p. 340.  
 [The sign of the] *Harpe*, for Ireland.  
 a 1700 *Harl. Mss.* 5910 vol. 11. fol. 167 (quoted in *Hist. of Signboards*, p. 134.)

- (b) *Tarp*. 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 452.  
*Tarpp*. 1889 *Philadelphia City Directory*.  
 (c) In New York I find families of . . . *Harp*. Mr. *Harp* lives at Quebec.  
 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 291.

**21. Hay**, a hedge. William *atte hays*, 'at the hedge,' may be the ancestor of William *Tay*. Of course *Hay* and *Hays*, *Hayse*, and *Hayes* are surnames of the same locative origin.

- (a) William *atte Haye*.  
                                   *a 1600 Placitorum in Dem. Cap. Westminster.* (B. p. 559.)  
 (b) William *Tay*.  
                                   1891 *New York Directory*.  
 (c) William *Hay*.  
                                   1891 *Id.*  
       *Haye . . . Hayes . . . Hays . . . Hayse.* 1891 *Id.*

**22. Hen.** One living at the sign of the hen, *atte henne*, may have been the progenitor of those few who answer to the name of *Ten*; who can not all say, “*Nos numerus sumus*,” tho, like the many, “*fruges consumere nati*.”

- I'm amazed at the signs      As I pass through the Town,  
 To see the odd mixture: . . .      The Razor and *Hen*.  
                                   1710 *British Apollo*, iii. 34. (*Hist. of Signboards*, p. 18.)  
 (b) The families of Six, *Ten*, and *Eighteen*, seem to have remained in the  
       mother-country. 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 284.

**23. Hill.** John *atte hille*, *atte hil*, is the nominal ancestor of those named without change *Athill*, and with loss of the preposition, *Hill*, and with the attracted *t*, *Till*, in the patronymic form *Tills*, *Tylls*. See also *Will*, p. 115.

- (a) Bate *Ate-hil*.  
       John *at Hil*.  
       Alexander *atte Helle*.  
                                   *a 1600? Hundred Rolls.* (B. p. 521.)  
                                   *a 1600? Writs of Parliament.* (B. p. 561.)  
                                   *a 1600? Rolls of Parliament.* (B. p. 560.)

This seems to give Alexander a dismal address: but there is no infernal meaning in his surname.

- Gregory *Attehil*. *a 1600?* in BROMEFIELD, *Hist. of Norfolk*. (B. p. 521.)  
       *Athill*. 1875 BARDSLEY, p. 110.  
       Robinet *of the Hill*. *Proc. and Ordinances, Privy Council*. (B. p. 590.)  
 (b) Alexander fil. *Tylle*. *Documents illustrative of Eng. History*. (B. p. 603.)  
       *Till*. See *William*. Sometimes perhaps a contraction of *At-Hill*.  
                                   1860 LOWER, *P. B.*  
       *Till*. 1857 and 1891 *New York Directory*; 1889 *Philadelphia Directory*.  
       *Tylls*. 1639 in 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 338.

Perhaps the surname *Tull* is a variant of *Till*, as *Hull* is a variant of *Hill* (ME. *hylle*, *hulle*, AS. *hyll*), when not local, from *Hull* in Yorkshire.

- (c) Thomas *Hylle* . . the xiii yere [of Edw. IV.].  
                                   *c 1502 Arnold's Chron.* (1811), p. xxxvi.  
       Richard *Hill*, walker. 1569 *Churchwardens' accounts of the town of*  
                                   *Ludlow* (Camden Soc. 1869), p. 141.

**24. Hillock.** The local addition \**atte hilloke* is sufficient to explain the surname *Tillock* (if this be not a variant of *Tullock*, *Tulloch*).

- (b) Names extinct in Boston . . . *Tillock*.  
                                   1860 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 463.

**25. Hook, ME. *hoke*.** According to Lower, "*Atte hooke* became '*Tooke*'"; but I find no original instance of *Atte hooke*. The sense might be 'at the point of land.' The form *Hook* also appears as *Hooke*, *Houk*, *Hucke*, in sixteenth century *Hooke*, *Hooch*, *Houke*, *Howke*, and *Tooke* as *Toke*.

- (a) *Atte hooke*? a 1500? (Lower, *P. B.*, p. 162.)  
 (b) *Hooke*, *Howke*. *Atte Hooke* became '*Tooke*.'  
 1842 LOWER, *Eng. Surnames*, p. 48.

**26. Hope.** Some one living *atte hope*, 'at the vale,' or 'at the hill,' gave rise to the name *Tope*, as well as *Hope*. *Toop* and *Toup* may also belong here.

- (a) David *atte Hope*. a 1600? *Issues of the Exchequer*. (B. p. 562.)  
 (b) *Tope*. 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*.  
*Toop*. 1891 *New York Directory*.  
*Toup*. 1889 *Philadelphia Directory*.

**27. How, a hill; ME. *howe*.** Some one *atte howe*, 'at the hill,' became the ancestor of those cald *Tow* or *Towe*, as well as of those cald *Now* (see p. 115).

- (a) Letitia *atte Howe*. a 1600? *Writs of Parliament*. (B. p. 563.)  
 Robert *ad le Ho* [Eng. + Lat. + Fr. + Eng.!] a 1500? *Chronicon Petroburgense* (Camden Soc.) (B. p. 563.)  
 (b) *Tow*. 1891 *New York Directory*.  
*Towe*. 1891 *Id.*  
*How*. 1821 and 1889 *Philadelphia Directory*.  
*Howe*. 1889 *Id.*

**28. Oak.** As one living *atten oke* 'at the oak' became the ancestor of *Noke*, *Nokes*, *Noakes* (see TRANSACTIONS, xxiii. p. 282), so he may hav been, as living also *atte oke*, *at oke*, the ancestor of *Toke*, and perhaps of some cald *Tooke*, tho the latter form is supposed to be of different origin, *Atte hooke* (see *Hook*, before). Some earlier man living *atte ake*, may be the ancestor of persons now cald *Tack*; tho this surname is also in part of German origin.

- (a) Richard *atte oke*. a 1600? *Calendarium Inquisitionum post mortem*. (B. p. 579.)  
 Richard *atte Ok*. a 1600? (B. p. 128.)  
 (b) Diuers of this sort haue beene strangely contracted as, At Ashe into Tash, *At Oke* into *Toke*. 1637 CAMDEN, *Remaines*, p. 122.  
*Tack*. 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 364.

**29. Owl.** Some one living at the sign of the Owl, *atte owle*, may be the father of such as call themselvs *Towle*, and perhaps *Towell* and *Tool*, *Toole*; tho these surnames may be derived in some cases from *St. Olave* (see TRANSACTIONS, xxiv. 106).

- (a) I have not met with *Owl* as a surname, but '*Towle* looks like an abbreviation of *At the Owle*, the meaning of which will be discovered a few pages forward. 1842 LOWER, *Eng. Surnames*, p. 103, note. The landlord of an alehouse at Calverley, near Leeds, has put his premises under the protection of Minerva's bird, the *Owl*. At St. Helens, Lancashire, there is a still more curious sign, viz. the Owl's Nest, or the Owl in the Ivy Bush. 1866 LARWOOD and HOTTEN, *Hist. of Signboards*, p. 223.
- (b) *Towl.* 1891 *New York Directory*.  
*Towle.* 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*; 1889 *Philadelphia Directory*; 1857 and 1891 *New York Directory*.  
*Towell.* 1821 *Philadelphia Directory*.

**30. Ox.** It is supposed that some one living *atten oxe* gave rise by a shift of the *n* to Mr. *Nox* (see TRANSACTIONS, xxiii. 284). By a drop of the *n*, he gave rise also to Mr. *Tox*, a name not mentioned by Bowditch or Lower. Miss *Tox* in "Dombey and Son" is a fiction (even Hamlet and Jove are fictions), and can not be cald in evidence.

**31. Oxford.** Some one living *at Oxford* or at some *ox-ford* may be the ancestor of Mr. *Taxford*, a name easily changed from *\*Toxford*.

- (b) The London "News" of July 1859 mentions Messrs. *Taxford* and *Oxenford*. 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 244.

**32. Ridge,** a locality so cald, dial. *rigg*. There ar several. Hence the surnames *Attridge*, *Trigg*, *Trigge*, and *Rigg*.

- (a) The medieval form is *Atte Rigge*, whence *Trigg*. In the XVI. cent. it was commonly written *A' Ridge*. 1860 LOWER, *Patronymic Britannica*.  
*Attridge.* 1889 *Philadelphia Directory*.  
 (b) *Trigg.* 1857 and 1891 *New York Directory*; 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*.  
*Trigge.* 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*; 1891 *New York Directory*.  
*Rigg.* 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*; 1891 *New York Directory*.  
*Riggs.* 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*; 1891 *New York Directory*.

**33. Rill.** The locativ supernomination *atte rille*, 'at the rill,' has given us the names *Rill* and probably *Trill*.

- (a) *\*Atte rille?*  
 (b) Messrs. *Trill*, Houle and Mew live in London (1858). 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 290.  
*Trill.* 1889 *Philadelphia Directory*.  
 (c) *Rill.* 1857 and 1891 *New York Directory*; 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*.

**34. Yew.** Some William or John *\*atte ewe*, 'at the yew,' may hav been the ancestor of Mr. *Tew*.

- (b) *Tew.* 1857 *New York Directory*; 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 36, 283, 463.

XI. Cases involving *saint*; the *t* attracted to the following name. See TRANSACTIONS, xxiv. 99–108. The following additional instances are worth recording.

6. **Saint Ann** (xxiv. 101). To the examples given are the surnames *Tann* and *Tanns*, from *Saint Anne's* (church or well), and *Tanswell*, also corruptly *Tasewell*, *Tazewell*, *Tarswell*, *Tarzwel*, from *Saint Anne's Well*.

- (a) *Sent Annes* church at Aldersgate.  
c 1548 *Chron. of Grey Friars of London* (Camden Soc. 1851), p. 57.
- (b) *Tann*. 1860 LOWER, *P. B.* p. 339.  
Mary *Tanns*. 1857 *New York Directory*.
- (a) *St. Anne's Well*. St. Anne was a great patroness of wells, and there are many in different parts of England which bear her name.  
1860 LOWER, *P. B.* p. 339.
- (b) At Fersfield, Co. Norfolk, there is a St. Anne's Well, which is vulgarly known as *Tann's Well*. 1860 *Id.* 13.  
*Tanswell*. The family can trace only to 1588, in the county of Dorset. From a James *Tanswell* born at Buckland-Newton in that shire, descend the *Tanswells*, the *Taswells*, and the *Tazewells* of England and of Virginia, U. S. Other orthographies of the name are *Tarzwel*, *Tarswell*, *Tasewell*, etc. 1860 LOWER, *P. B.* p. 339.

12. **Saint Etha** (xxiv. 105). I note a recent example of *Saint Teath*.

There was St. Petroc in the chair, with St. Guron by his side, an' St. Neot, St. Udy, *St. Teath*, St. Keverne, St. Wen.  
1894 Q(UILLER-COUCH), *The Delectable Duchy*, p. 95.

I cite two new cases in which the attraction from *saint* has taken place.

22. **Saint Aubin**, whose name is more elegantly spelt with the ununderstood and therefore aristocratic *y*, *St. Aubyn*, appears to be the tutelar saint of those that call themselves *Tobin* and sometimes spel themselves *Tobyn*.

- (a) (b) *Tobyn*. The Irish family are believed to be descended from the A. Norm. St. *Aubyn* — the name having formerly been spelt *St. Tobin*, and then *Tobyn*. The name is of record in Ireland from the time of Edward the Third. It was especially established in the county of Tipperary. D'Alton, a writer in the *Quarterly Review* for April, 1860, speaking of the desire manifested by some of the English settlers in Ireland to be thoroughly hibernicized, mentions that the Fitz-Urses became Mac-Mahons, and the St. Aubyns *Dobbin*, or *Tobin*.  
1860 LOWER, *Patronymica Britannica*, p. 348.

23. **Saint Edmund**. *Saint Edmund's bury*, or *Bury Saint Edmund's* in Suffolk, is the source of the surname *Tednambury*.

- (b) *Tednambury*. 1700 CHAUNCEY, *Hertfordshire*, p. 353 (ref. in Lower, *P. B.* p. 340).

§ IV. B. Initial R lost. See TRANSACTIONS, xxiv. 110-122.

XV. Cases involving the possessives *our*, *your*, etc.

My proposition as stated in my second paper (TRANSACTIONS, xxiv. 110, 111) is, that from the frequent household phrases *our Richard*, *our Robert*, *your Richard*, *your Robert*, etc., arise, by absorption of the initial *R*-, and subsequent aspiration, the forms *Hich*-, *Hick*, *Hob*, etc. This explanation being novel, and the contemporary evidence therefor, for reasons given in the previous paper, being meager, additional evidence will not be amiss. What is here adduced goes to confirm the proposed explanation. I have not found any facts which throw any doubt on the explanation.

I have suggested that the common use of *Sir* before the names *Richard*, *Robert*, etc., helped the change in question. Perhaps the *-r* in *Master* helped it also. *Master Richard*, *Master Robert*, *Master Rauf*, etc., are very common in Middle English.

1. **Richard** (xxiv. 112).

*Richard*. 1258 Proclamation of Henry III. (Ellis, *E.E.P.* p. 503.)  
*Richard Rich*, Willm Combis, sherefs; the XX yere [sc. of Henry VI].  
*c* 1502 *Arnold's Chron.* (1811), p. xxxiii.

2. **Rich** (xxiv. 113).

The learned and industrious M. *Rich*. Hackluit.  
 1637 CAMDEN, *Remaines*, p. 353.

3. **Rickard** (xxiv. 113). The AS. *Ricard* is common in late acquittances. See Thorpe, *Diplomatarium Aevi Saxonici*, 1865, p. 648, etc.

*Rauf Jostlyn*, *Ricard Nedam*, sherefs; the XXXVII yere [of Hen. VI].  
*c* 1502 *Arnold's Chron.* (1811), p. xxxiv.

4. **Rick** (xxiv. 113). Of the form *'Ick*, *'Icke* I cited no record. I find the genitive form *Ickes* as a surname, the same as *Hickes*, *Hicks*, *Hix*. Of course *'Ick*, *'Icks*, as spoken forms, flourish wherever British aspirations fail.

*Ickes*. 1889 *Philadelphia Directory*.

*Hick* must be the source of the Cornish *Hecca*.

*Hecca*, s.m. Richard, Dick. A man's name. Pryce (1790).  
 1865 WILLIAMS, *Lexicon Cornu-Britannicum*, p. 212.

The forms *Hick* and *Hickes*, *Hicks* suffered change to *Higg* and *Higgs*, which with *Higson*, formerly *Higges son*, exist as surnames. Compare *Higgin*, *Higgins*, etc., *Diggon*, *Digginson*, etc., with their original \**Hickon*, *Hicken*, *Hickin*.

- Thomas *Higges*. 1566 *Churchwardens' accounts of the town of Ludlow*  
(Camden Soc. 1869), pp. 121, 122.  
George *Higges*. a 1600? *Valor Ecclesiasticus*. (B. p. 561.)  
*Higgs*. 1797 in BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, 1861, p. 77.  
*Higges sonnes*. 1574 *Churchwardens' accounts of the town of Ludlow*  
(Camden Soc. 1869), p. 160.  
Peter *Higson*. a 1603 *Calendar of Proc. in Chancery* (Eliz.). (B. p. 561.)

5. **Robert** (xxiv. 114). I find the supposed form *Obert* (arising from our '*Obert* for our *Robert*') in actual use as a surname.

- (b) *Obert*. 1860 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 446.

6. **Rob** (xxiv. 116). The form *Obbe*, which I markt with a star as not found, I now find recorded. And of course '*Obb*,' '*Obbs*,' '*Obbins*,' '*Obbinson*,' etc., flourish in cockney speech, tho they ar written with H—*Hobb*, *Hobbs*, *Hobbins*, *Hobbinson*. I find, however, *Obbinson* in print.

- Obbe* Dudeman. a 1600? *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum in Turri*  
*Londonensi*. (B. p. 561.)  
Names extinct in Boston . . . *Obbinson*.  
1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 461.

8. **Robbie**, *Robby* (xxiv. 118). I giv an earlier example for *Hobbie* as a surname.

- Sr. Phillipe *Hobbye*, Knighte.  
1553 in ELLIS, *Orig. Letters*, 3d ser. 1846, iii. 311.  
Richard *Hobbie*. 1556 *Churchwardens' accounts of the town of Ludlow*  
(Camden Soc. 1869), p. 123.

10. **Rodge** (xxiv. 119). The prevalence of this abbreviated form, ME. *Roge*, was probably aided by the constant use of the written abbreviation *Rog.* or *Rog'*, as *Rick* in part grew out of the written abbreviation *Ric.* or *Ric'*.

- Rog'* le Bigod [Eng. version *Rog'* Bigod] . . . *Rog'* de Ouency, *Rog'* de Mortemer [Eng. version: *Rog'* of Mortemer].  
1258 *Proclamation of Henry III.* (Ellis, *E.E.P.*, pp. 504, 505.)

Of *Hodge* it may be worth while to giv further illustration from early records.

- Hodge* Feke told me thatt Sym Schepherd is styl with Wyly.  
1448 *Paston Letters*, ed. Gairdner (1872), i. 69.  
John the sone of *Hogge* Ratkleff [237] . . . [margin] Memorandum that  
Jon. sone of *Roger* Ratkliff [241] . . .  
1452 *Paston Letters*, ed. Gairdner (1872), i. 237, 241.



Tis *our Hodge*, and I think he lies asleep.

1599 PORTER, *Two Angry Women of Abington*. (Dodsley, ed. Hazlitt, vii. 308.)

11. **Rod**, short for *Rodger* or *Rodge* (xxiv. 120). I find the decapitate aspirate form *Hod* as a surname, *Hodde*.

*Hodde*.

1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 320.

Of *Hudde*, the Middle English variant, if variant, I find some more examples.

*Hudde* de Knaresborough.

a 1600? *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum in Turri Londonensi*. (B. p. 563.)

*Hudde* Garcio de Stabulo ('Hod the stable-boy').

a 1600? *Documents illustrativ of Eng. Hist.* (B. p. 563.)

For the change from *Hodde* to *Hudde*, compare *rubbed* for *robbed*, and *rubbery* for *robbery*, in the Scotch of Andrew Fairservice (1818 Scott, *Rob Roy*, xiv.).

12. **Roddy** (xxiv. 121). Of the derived *Hoddy* and the variant *Huddy* I ad some examples:

Alisaunder *Hody*. 1447-48 *Shillingford Letters* (Camden Soc. 1871), p. 3.

Symon *Huddy*. 1570 *Churchwardens' accounts of the town of Ludlow* (Camden Soc. 1869), p. 143.

*Huddy*.

1889 *Philadelphia Directory*.

§ V. Initial D gaind. See TRANSACTIONS, xxiv. 123-137.

XVII. **Good** (xxiv. 123). The following ar additional illustrations of *good den*, *godden*, for *good even*.

Mnadies. Barbarously for *Bona dies*. *God-den*ne to you. 1611 COTGRAVE.

*Good den*, *good den*, Ont Nell.

1746 *Exmoor Courtship* (E.D.S. 1879), p. 100.

Farewels ar apt to be lingering; and the words of parting ar oft repeated. *God be with you* is a long phrase to repeat; it is no wonder it was cut down to *good-by*, as has been shown. Repetition like the following would not long continue:

*Civ.* Well, *God be with you* all. Come, Franke.

*Fran.* *God be with you*, father; *God be with you*. Sir Arthur, master Oliver, and master Weathercock, sister, *God be with you* all: *God be with you*, father: *God be with you* every one.

1805 *London Prodigal* iv. 1 (Suppl. *Shak. Plays*, 1780, ii. 505).

XVIII. **Old**, as used before personal names. The *d* was attracted to the following name, if that began with a vowel. (TRANSACTIONS, xxiv. 125-136.)

1. **Hick** (xxiv. 128). *Old Hick*, as I hav said, became *Ol(d) Dick*. Of *Dick* there ar many sixteenth century examples, tho earlier examples ar scarce.

Thomas *Dik*. 1549 *Churchwardens' accounts of the town of Ludlow*  
(Camden Soc. 1869), p. 39.

*Dick* Coomes, methinks thou art very pleasant.

1599 PORTER, *Two Angry Women of Abington*. (Dodsley, ed.  
Hazlitt, vii. 283.)

That's my good *Dick*, that's my sweet *Dick*!

1599 PORTER, *Two Angry Women of Abington*.

Of *Dickson*, *Dixon*, examples occur of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

*Dicson* . . . *Dicsone*. 1375 BARBOUR, *Bruce* (1870), v. 279, . . . v. 346.  
*Mestresse Dyxon*. 1474 *Paston Letters*, ed. Gairdner, iii. 174.

*Dyxson*. 1479 *Paston Letters*, ed. Gairdner, iii. 258.

2. **Hickon** (xxiv. 128). *Old Hickon* became *Ol(d) Dickon*.  
I ad some more instances of *Dickon*, *Dicken*.

*Dicken* ap holl [cald Richard ap Howell on preceding page].

a 1550 in ELLIS, *Orig. Letters*, 3d ser. (1846), iii. 14.

*Dickon*.

1536 STILL, *Gammer Gurton's Needle*

So *Dickins*, that is little Dick.

1637 CAMDEN, *Remaines*, p. 132.

3. **Hob** (xxiv. 129). Here is an example of the very *old Hob* from which in its Middle English use *Dob* took its origin.

(a) A very pleasant entertainment between *Old Hob* and his wife and the comical humours of Mopsy and Collin.

1722 *Playbill*, quoted in *Hist. of Signboards* (1866), p. 268.

(b) *Dob*, *Dobbin*. A term for a foolish fellow; also the usual contraction for *Robert*.

1851 STERNBERG, *Northampton Gloss*, p. 30.

*Dob* must hav existed before the beginning of the modern period.  
I find *Dobbs*, in the form *Dobes*, in the sixteenth century.

The xij day of May d[i]ed ser Rechard *Dobes* late mayer of London.

1556 MACHYN, *Diary* (Camden Soc. 1848), p. 105.

4. **Hobbin** (xxiv. 129). Of the derived *Dobbin* I giv further evidence.

(b) Henry *Dobyn*. 1447 *Shillingford Letters* (Camden Soc. 1871), p. 5.  
When Goody *Dobbins* called me filthy bear.

1765 in DODSLEY, *Coll. of Poems*, v. 104.

5. **Hobby** (xxiv. 130). *Old Hobby*, as I hav intimated, gave rise to *Dobby*, of which I find a rather early example, expressly as a diminutiv or pet name of *Robert*.

James they call Immey; Walter, Watty; *Robert*, *Dobby*, &c.

1602 CAREW, *Survey of Cornwall* (in Sternberg, *Northampt. Gloss*. 1851, p. 30).

6. **Hodge** (xxiv. 130). I giv early examples of the surname *Dodge*, which, as I hav suggested, may come from *Old Hodge*.

Peter *Dodge* [of Stopworth, Cheshire]. 1308 in *Encycl. Brit.* 1880, xi. 703.  
John *Dodge*. 1555 PROCTOR, *Historie of Wyate's Rebellion* (*Antiq. Repertory*, 1808, iii. 80).

8. **Andrew** (xxiv. 131). Of *dandiprat*, originally, as I hav conjectured, a person's name, *Dandy Pratt*, that is, in formal speech, *Andrew Pratt*, I hav lighted on no instances earlier than those I hav alredy cited. But I am able to bring the name *Dandy* very near to the time of Henry VII, in whose reign the term *dandiprat* appears to have arisen. One "Dandy" in 1537 sold some timber to Lord Cromwell's steward, for use in the bilding of one of Cromwell's houses, when Cromwell was "serving" the hedsman king, the bloody father of "Bloody Mary," and getting his reward in the spoils of office. "Dandy" was then a man of some years, engaged in business, and was reported to be at the point of deth. We may suppose he was living, and receivd the name *Dandy*, in Henry VII's time.

They have received vj<sup>o</sup>. loode of tymber of *Danly*, and he hath had of your Maistership paid by Webster and Christopher Roper j<sup>o</sup><sup>th</sup>. *Dandy* when I was there was in perell of dethe, and I suppose ded by this tyme . . . Sr Thomas Grene tellith me that *Dandy* is full paid for his tymbre after the rate iij<sup>s</sup>. iiij<sup>d</sup>. the lode.

1537 THOMAS THACKER, *To Lord Cromwell*, in *Ellis, Orig. Letters*, 3d ser. (1846), iii. 86, 87.

All the names enumerated in this class, *Hick*, *Hickon* (*Higgin*), *Hob*, *Hobbin*, *Hobbie*, *Hodge*, *Hod*, *Hoddy*, *Andrew*, etc., with their ordinary derivativs *Hicks*, *Hix*, *Hickie*, *Hickey*, etc., *Higgins*, etc., *Hobbs*, *Hobbins*, etc., *Hodges*, *Hodson*, *Andrews*, etc., and the attracted forms and their derivativs, *Dick*, *Dicks*, *Dix*, *Dickens*, etc., *Dickie*, *Dickey*, *Dobbs*, *Dobbin*, *Dobbins*, *Dobby*, *Dodge*, *Dod*, *Dodd*, *Doddy*, *Dandy*, etc., have past into use as surnames. We ar therefore prepared to believ that the following given names, which ar used also as surnames, ar probably the source of the surnames which differ from them in spelling and pronunciation only in the possession of an initial *d*. This *d* I take to be the attracted *d* of *old* as previously explaind. There ar many pairs of surnames of which one differs from the other only in having an initial *d*; but the explanation from *old* is not to be prest in the lack of positiv evidence.



19. **Hugh**, formerly also *Hew*, etc. (see the present paper, p. 100). *Old Hugh* (*Hew*) may be the original of *Dew*, also *Dewe*, a surname certainly not a precipitate of the vaporous air. *Dewes* is, however, in part at least, of French origin.

- (a) And master Arthur and *old Hugh* your man.  
1602 J. COOKE (?), *How a man may choose a good wife from a*  
*bad.* (Dodsley, ed. Hazlitt, ix. 65.)
- (b) *Dew.* 1805 in BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames* (1861), p. 92.  
*Dewe.* 1740 in BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames* (1861), p. 272.

20. **Oliver.** *Old Oliver* may be the source of the surname *Dolliver*.

- (a) *Oliver*. 1821 *Philadelphia Directory*.  
(b) *Dolliver*. 1860 *BOWDITCH, Suffolk Surnames*, p. 431.

*Tolliver, Tulliver*, is a different name.

21. **Watt, ME.** *Watte, Wat*, abbreviation of *Water, Watter, Wauter*, now *Walter*. *Old Watt* may be the source of the surname *Dwott*.

- (a) *Watt*. 1821 *Philadelphia Directory*.  
(b) *Dwott*. 1860 *BOWDITCH, Suffolk Surnames*, p. 431.

I have found two other instances in which the *d* of *old* has been attracted to a following word: instances which involve common adjectives, and help to prove the asserted attraction from *old* as occurring before proper names.

22. **Wizened.** One who is wizened is old, or looks old ; and in the brutal speech of the multitude, *old* is pretty sure to be exprest whenever there is the least occasion for it. We hear, usually, not of 'a white-haired man,' 'a decrepit woman,' 'an ugly hag,' 'a witch,' all terms which sufficiently connote *old*, but of 'a white-haired *old* man,' 'a decrepit *old* woman,' 'an ugly *old* hag,' 'an *old* witch.' So with *wizened*: the usual phrase has been 'an *old wizened*' (face, apple, etc.) ; and this phrase has in provincial use been reduced to *dwizened*, *dwizzened*, *dwizzen'd*, with phonetic variants, *dozzened*, *dozzen'd*, speld also *dozen'd*, *dozand*, to support a false etymology from *doze* or *daze*. See the quotations. So *wizen-faced*, the next entry. *Wizened*, *wizzened*, *wizzend*, *wizzent*, etc., runs through many provincial glossaries.

- (a) O ill befa' your wizen'd snout!  
*a 1828 Gight's Lady.* (Buchan, *Ballads of the North of Scotland*,  
 1828, i. 133; Child, *Ballads*, viii. 290.)

*Wizzened*, adj. Shrivelled, withered and corrugated; as an overkept apple. 1868 ATKINSON, *Gloss. Cleveland Dial.* p. 580.

- (b) *Dwizzen'd*; adj. Withered, wrinkled, shrunk. See *Dozzen'd*. Essentially the same word as *Dozand* or *Dozen'd*.

1868 ATKINSON, *Gloss. Cleveland Dial.* p. 160.

*Dozzen'd*, *dozen'd*, *dozand*, adj. Of persons; wrinkled or withered, shrunk, effete, feeble in mind and body, shewing the effects of age. Of things; (apples or other fruits, &c.) having lost all firmness and roundness, withered, wrinkled. See *Dwizzen'd*. No doubt identical, radically, with *dazed* or *dused* [etc.: a long etymological note in this wrong direction].

1868 ATKINSON, *Gloss. Cleveland Dial.* p. 153.

*Dozzened*, sodden. 1873 HARLAND, *Swaledale Gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 12.

23. **Wizen-faced**, also *wizzen-faced*, *weazen-faced*. In like manner 'an old wizen-faced person' shrinks still further to *dwizzen-faced*.

- (a) A dingy *wizen-faced* portrait in an oval frame.

1842 BARHAM, *Ingoldsby Legends*, I. 50.

A little bleary-eyed, *weazen-faced* ancient man came creeping out.

1844 DICKENS, *Martin Chuzzlewit*.

*Wizzen-faced*, adj. Having a thin and wrinkled countenance.

1868 ATKINSON, *Gloss. Cleveland Dial.* p. 580.

- (b) *Dwizzen-faced*, adj. Thin-faced, with a shrunken countenance.

1868 *Id.* p. 160.

*Dwizzen-faced*, meagre-visaged.

1875 ROBINSON, *Whitby Gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 58.

B. Initial D lost. See TRANSACTIONS, xxiv. 137-138.

XXI. **Dish** (xxiv. 137). I hav not lighted upon any example of \**stand-dish*, the supposed original of *standish*. I hav found, however, an earlier instance of *standish*. An Italian fencing-master in the reign of Edward VI had a fine standish, with gilt-edged paper, pens, ink, wax, "pin-dust" for wiping pens, and everything complete, as in a modern club-room:

He had in his [fencing-] schoole a large square table with a greene carpet, done round with a verie brode rich fringe of gold, alwaies standing upon it a verie faire *standish* covered with crimson velvet, with inke, pens, pin-dust, and sealing-waxe, and quiers of very excellent fine paper gilded, ready for the noblemen and gentlemen (upon occasion) to write their letters.

1599 GEORGE SILVER, *Paradoxes of Defence*, in *Antiquarian Repertory*, 1807, i. 265.

§ VI. Initial S gaind or lost. See TRANSACTIONS, xxiv. 138.

A. Initial S gaind.

1. **Courser** (xxiv. 138). With *horse-scourser*, in which an initial *s* has been gaind from the preceding *horse*, compare the obsolete plant-name *horse-strong*, where *horse-* has gaind its final *s* from the follow-

ing *-strong*; the antecedent form being *horestrong*, *horestrang*, in the quotation also *hore-strange*, the more correct form being *harstrang*, from D. *harstrang*, G. *harnstrenge*, strangury: a name applied to an umbelliferous plant, *Peucedanum officinale*.

- (b) Peucedane, *Horse-strong*, *Hore-strange*, Sowfennell, Sulpherwort.  
1611 COTGRAVE.
- 

Other classes of words in which Attraction has taken place, and some divisions of classes already noticed, which hav some peculiarity or special importance, I must reserv unto an other day. What I hav given is not one third of what I hav noted down; and where I hav given most fully, much remains unpublisht or undiscoverd. But I must here make a pause in the enumeration of special facts, and state some of the general facts and conclusions to which they lead.

Nearly every English consonant has been subjected to Attraction. The consonants most attracted hav been *n* and *t*, and, at a long interval, *d* and *s*. I see nothing in their phonetic character that explains their yielding to Attraction. They hav been attracted because of their accidental frequency as final consonants. This frequency is not absolute, but is due to the fact that certain words which terminate with *n* or *t* are of very frequent recurrence — *an. in, mine, thine, at, that, it*, etc.

Besides the numerous cases of Attraction affecting the initial consonant, there ar many cases of Attraction affecting the final consonant, not only where a final consonant is carried over as an initial to the next word (which brings it within the category of the present title), but where a final consonant is gaind by Attraction from the initial of the following word.

In the paper of which this is the third part I hav treated of 37 classes of English words which hav gaind or lost an initial consonant by Attraction, enumerating about 440 words in the regular order, and treating incidentally with more or less fulness, about 240 words more; in all about 680 words. Of many of these the correct etymology is here stated for the first time; of many others etymologies previously in

dout ar definitely establisht or definitely refuted. It was my intention not even to suggest any etymology of which positiv proof could not be presented, and except in a few cases this principle has been enforced. To enforce it absolutely I hav found a little chilling to the spirit of research. One must be permitted to believ and advocate a little more than he can prove; and I could not consent to separate myself, by a tedious uniformity of unassailable precision, from the general company of etymologists.

I intimated a purpose to set forth facts which show that Attraction similar in kind to some of the forms of Attraction in English, has operated in other languages. I hav found cases of Attraction in Dutch, Low German, German, Swedish, New Greek, Old Irish, and other tongues; but my limits forbid their presentation now. The Teutonic cases ar of like kind with the English; the other cases ar peculiar, but all rest on the same principle.

Attraction can prevail only in the presence of inaccurate knowledge and hasty judgment. It does not, however, imply absence of knowledge or judgment. So far as it goes, indeed, Attraction is, as I said in the beginning (*TRANSACTIONS*, xxiii. 180), a creditable kind of blunder. It is based on the reasoning faculty, and shows a desire to be consistent and uniform. This is a noble and scientific frame of mind. The error is in entering judgment before the case is fully heard. "Strike, but hear!"

As the phenomena of Attraction arise from imperfect knowledge and hasty judgment, they may be supposed to be rife in barbarous and unwritten languages, and indeed there is evidence enough from present observation that Interference of all kinds has been running riot in all barbarous tongues from the beginning. In view of this fact what ar we to say of the talk of primitiv "roots"?

My investigations in the field of Attraction, to say nothing of other fields which I purposely exclude from this discussion, justify, I think, the following etymological conclusions. They ar not all new, of course, but they hav, old and new, the merit of being supported by a foundation of new facts.



1. An etymological fact known to be true of several words, may be found to be true of a great many words, if the law inferd from the few known instances be systematically applied to all words of apparently similar condition and age.

2. The application of the inferd law to a particular case ought not to be neglected because of superficial improbability in that case. In etymology, as in other fields of research, it is highly probable that improbable things wil occur.

3. The etymological probabilities as to the origin of a word or phonetic changes therein ar not exhausted by an examination of the word and its elements, however minute the examination may be. The words or phonetic elements which, either in present or in past use, regularly or frequently precede or follow it in set phrases or regular discourse, must be considerd, and the probable or possible effects of Attraction or other interference taken into account.

4. Interference, under which general term I include Attraction, Analogy, Assimilation, Conformation, and other influences external to the words affected, has played a greater part in English than has heretofore been recognized.

5. Household speech, and the humor of clipping or abbreviating constantly recurring words, such as the names of members of a family, has affected the English language from the beginning of the Middle English period.

6. This abbreviating humor did not exist in Anglo-Saxon, but arose out of the stir of mind produced by the Norman Conquest and its ramifying consequences. The Anglo-Saxon records contain no proof or hint of this habit of speech, and the serious and stolid temper of the people, the slow bovine movement of the early Teutonic mind, make it highly improbable that the humor existed, unless as an undeveloppt germ.

7. Familiar words like *eye*, *egg*, *ash*, *oak*, etc., could be modified by addition or loss of a consonant, and written as so

modified, as early as the year 1200. Precision in the artificial separation of a word from the stream of spoken sounds of which it formed an actually unseparated part, was not regarded much more than artificial uniformity in its spelling. At the same time there was a remarkable accuracy in the representation of sounds as heard. Words were heard in the attracted form, and were written accordingly.

8. Attraction and nearly all the other forms of Interference take place within the English pale, and are due to English words. Of foreign influence there is almost none.

9. Hence, apparent changes not known to be due to foreign causes are probably due to Interference within English, and most likely to Attraction or Conformation.

10. Accordingly, the explanation of the etymology of forms which can not be traced with certainty or great probability to a foreign source, are to be sought within English.

11. The only sources of English words not from a foreign source are Derivation, Composition, Imitation, Growth or "roots" (see my paper on the Recent Emergence of a Preterit Present in English, *PROCEEDINGS* for 1892), or Interference, including Attraction, Derivation, Composition, and, usually, Imitation, are obvious. It follows that words which can not be explained by one of the above named causes are probably of spontaneous growth, or are the result of Interference, including Attraction.

12. A principle or law even when proved to be widely prevalent, as the law of Attraction has been shown to be, is not to be pushed too far. There are many apparent cases of Attraction which at the last prove to be delusive. One may not only be misled by a will-o'-the-wisp, but even a trusty guide may at the bounds of his own beat be transformed into a mocker, and lead one away into the wilderness.

13. On the other hand, one may lose by hesitation. Experience may palsy zeal. The pride of doubt is less noble

than the zeal of belief. Discoveries ar not made by men who wil not move until they ar certain. He finds who seeks ; and the gate wil open to him who knocks, tho he knock in the dark.

14. That method of etymology which consists of systematic enumeration and classification of words and forms treated, with dated proof-texts, is the one that produces the largest and the most trustworthy results. Citation of the opinions of other scholars, or dissent therefrom, without such enumeration and proof-texts, is practically valueless. It does not ad to knowledge or establish truth.